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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Government Attacked for Bowing to U.S. Pressure

92AS0908C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 17 Apr 92 p 5

[Editorial: "Pakistan Government's Position"]

[Text] The government's reaction to the sanctions against Libya is not unexpected. Governments have certain obligations that they feel compelled to fulfill but the people feel differently. In a press briefing Wednesday, the foreign office announced that Pakistan would honor the Security Council resolution against Libya and that Pakistan had urged that the Security Council resolutions on Kashmir be carried out. The government position revealed in the press briefing will not satisfy the people and they will be forced to conclude that the government's stand is motivated by the wish to please the United States. Granted that members of the General Assembly are obligated to honor the resolutions of the Security Council but this argument is acceptable only when the Security Council acts freely and without any pressure and when it applies the same standard to all issues. But it is obvious that in this matter, the Security Council passed the sanctions resolution against Libya under pressure by the U.S. and the countries who voted in favor of sanctions were afraid of the U.S. and did not want to offend a superpower.

As far as the Western powers are concerned, some of them do not want to see any Islamic power lead a dignified life, much less gain any kind of power. In view of this situation, the stand taken by Pakistan's foreign office is disappointing. When the United States attacked Iraq, the people strongly supported the government's stand in favor of the Security Council's resolution; and when Pakistani troops were sent to Saudi Arabia, the government offered the excuse that the troops were sent to defend the holy places. But by announcing its support of the Security Council's resolution against Libya, the government has proved that in fact its previous actions were also aimed at pleasing the United States.

Foreign Policy Said Selling Out to Jewish Interests

92AS0991F Karachi DAWN (supplement) in English
8 May 92 p 1

[Article by Qazi Faez Isa: "Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Sold to Architects of the New World Order"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The government's exhortations of pursuing Islamic principles at home find no reflection in its foreign dealings or policy. The extent of this hypocrisy, begotten from temporary convenience, in its international application, is such that the Foreign Office abandoned even paying customary lip service with regard to protecting Muslim honour.

Despite the heavy price we paid for our Afghan policy, this policy was abandoned when Washington's interest waned. Then for the first time in our history we, at the behest of American pressure and in stark contrast with public sentiments, sent a 'mercenary' force beyond the frontiers of our state (an act of doubtful constitutionality in view of the fact that Article 245 of the Constitution only envisages defending "Pakistan against external aggression"). Thereafter, the Foreign Office unexplained and sinister silence upon the overthrow of democracy in Algeria and Libya's dilemma provides further proof of our departure from providing support to Muslim peoples in time of their need; for instance, before international forums.

The most blatant transgression upon Pakistani sentiments must be Abida Hussain's ingratiating utterances to the Jews whilst awaiting on bended knee to present her credentials (and having proved her credentials her long wait, by some accounts the longest ever for an ambassador designate, came to a 'miraculous' end!)

Abida Hussain's has demeaned Pakistan's principled stand on Palestine and hurt the feelings of the vast majority of the people of the country she is supposed to represent. Madam Ambassador's clarification confirms her ineptitude as in her perception of facts the dispute is an 'Israeli'-Arab conflict and if the parties to the dispute resolve their differences Pakistan would recognise 'Israel'. "Madam Ambassador, Islam's third holiest city Al-Quds (Jerusalem) has been occupied by force and drawn into the Jewish Empire and you want to bestow the gift of recognition to a racist, unjust and inhuman regime?"

Palestine may be under the de facto control of arrogant Zionists and the Muslim and Arab world may not be able to do much to correct this abomination created by trickery and force with the complicity of colonial powers. However, the state of 'Israel' shall never assume a seat of honour in the comity of nations. Moral authority will not grant legitimacy to a state created on the blood of Palestinians and by the denial of an honourable life to the majority of its oldest inhabitants.

"The Palestine problem is not a problem for the Palestinian Arabs or the Arab world alone; it is a general calamity for the entire Islamic world." (Shakib Arsalan).

"Oh brothers—your homeland does not end at the borders of Egypt, but extends wherever a Muslim says "There is no God but God." (Hassan al-Banna).

These sentiments may not be shared by the ambassador to Washington or by the Foreign Office but they are embedded in the hearts of the citizens of this country. It has been correctly said that Muslims are morally obligated to defend Palestine. It is part of the larger cause of Islam under attack.

The Open city of Jerusalem, which had always been a haven for worshippers of the Judaic, Christian and Muslim faiths is now under the occupation by force of

Zionists. The Kubbat-as-Sakhra, also known as the Dome of the Rock which marks the mairaj lies in Jerusalem and is tramped upon by the boots of an occupying force and retained within the boundaries of a state which calls itself 'Israel'.

The Jews hang on to their appropriated territories not on the power or strength of any legal, political, historical or moral claim but with the help of one of the world's largest arsenals, which includes nuclear weapons and American finances and international intimidation.

Certain confused individuals wanted to seek clarification from the Foreign Office whether our ambassador to Washington was speaking in her private capacity or as a representative of Pakistan. There can be no doubt that ambassadors have no private capacities. They are employed, draw salaries and are only supposed to represent their country. The fact that the Foreign Office has not reacted to the Ambassador's statement is indicative of the state of things to come. Governments have been known to solicit public opinion on its future course of action by such methods.

Pakistan is not an ordinary country; its ideological foundation places considerable moral responsibilities on its leadership. By its very charter, Pakistan is obligated to raise its voice against injustice and inhumanity wherever the two are encountered. For the sake of expediency, its citizens will not allow the bartering away of principles. The Quaid's warning uttered over 50 years ago still rings true today, when he said:

"It is my duty to inform you that any surrender to appease Jewry at the sacrifice of Arabs would be deeply resented and vehemently resisted by the Muslim world and Muslim India and its consequences would be most disastrous."

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. Said Instigating Divisions Among Afghans

92AS0985B Karachi AMN in Urdu 27 Apr 92 p 5

[News Report: "Alama Sajed: 'U.S. Is Creating Divisions Among Afghans Out of Fear of an Islamic Bloc; To Counteract the American Conspiracy, the Mujaheddin Should Create Unity in Their Ranks'"]

[Text] Karachi, 26 April (PR) Alama Sayed Sajed Ali Naqvi, leader of the movement for the promulgation of the Ja'afaria [Shia] religious laws and central chairman of PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], has said that the United States was conspiring to partition Afghanistan along racial and linguistic lines because it did not want the nation, which defied the Soviet Union, to confront the United States in the area and pose a challenge to American interests. He said that in order to fight against this American conspiracy, Afghan leaders and mujaheddin should act on the Islamic philosophy of sacrifice and unite, and not listen to suggestions that would

nullify the gains of the Afghan jihad and cause Afghanistan to fall victim to linguistic and racial civil wars. He stated that the United States was afraid of a regional Islamic bloc composed of a free and united Afghanistan; the newly independent Muslim Central Asian states; Iran and Pakistan and, in order to protect itself from this bitter reality, was sabotaging the objectives of the Afghan jihad and encouraging sentiments, which would create division among the Afghans. Alama Sajed Naqvi emphasized the need for unity among Afghan leaders and Mujaheddin and said that the hopes of the people of Afghanistan were centred on them; the mature decisions that the Afghan leaders and mujaheddin made today would benefit the interests of the Islamic world in the future.

Analyst Foresees Possible Partition of Afghanistan

92AS0985A Karachi JANG in Urdu (supplement)
27 Apr 92 p A

[Article by Asif Nazir under byline, "Affairs and Views," entitled, "Will Afghanistan Be Partitioned? Who Started Slogans of Pashtun, Tajik, and Farsi?"]

[Text] After 13 years of struggle, the Afghan mujaheddin finally asserted their power; the U.S. was defeated in Vietnam and the mujaheddin were victorious in Afghanistan. The mujaheddin achieved the most important objective of their struggle: the end of the communist government in Afghanistan; all that remains to be done is the establishment of a strong and stable government. Western media are representing the differences among the mujaheddin as a major battle but that is not true. The media are saying that Ahmad Shah Masud is cooperating with the Kabul administration forces but the fact is that Ahmad Shah Masud wants to see an Islamic government in Afghanistan and Hekmatyar and other leaders also desire an Islamic government. But Western countries do not want such a government; hence, they first tried to sow division among the Afghan mujaheddin along Pashtun, Tajik, and Farsi lines and then they made it appear as though a war was imminent between the forces of Ahmad Shah Masud and Gulbedin Hekmatyar, which would break up Afghanistan. But this wish of the Western countries may not be fulfilled because the unity that enabled the mujaheddin to drive out Russian troops will make it possible for them to solve the problem of establishing a government in Afghanistan. Arguments arise everywhere as to who should hold the reins the government and who should have the largest share of power. Afghanistan is not the only country where such problems have arisen.

I shall now take a look at the linguistic and racial roots of the area. Iran and Turkey are trying to establish relations with the Muslim Central Asian states of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and, Azerbaijan. In Afghanistan, there are, in addition to Pashtu- and Farsi- speaking segments of the population, Tajiks and Uzbeks as well but they comprise only 10 or

15 percent of the population. The Uzbeks are 10 percent of the population and the Tajiks somewhat more and they live only in certain areas. People of Turkish origin inhabit all areas of Central Asia where, according to an Indian journal, Islam gained strength during the communist era. Islam in Central Asia is quite different from the Islam of Western Asia and has deeper roots. A large number of the people are of Turkish origin. The people of Turkish origin living in Azerbaijan tore down the "Azerbaijan wall" and have removed the barriers at the border with Iran. They want to unite the two Azerbaijanians into a single independent state.

Stalin expelled the Turks from here [sic] in 1944 and now a new organization called "Uzbek Turks" has been formed in Central Asia, which has a membership of at least 50,000. There are 300,000 Turks living in Bulgaria. There are 40 million 200 thousand (sic) Turks in these states; 11 million people of Turkish origin in Iran and 2 million in Afghanistan. Iran wants to promote relations with the Central Asian states and obtain airplanes, oil and nuclear technology. Farsi is spoken in the former Soviet states and in Afghanistan whereas the prominent Afghan leaders are Pashtu speakers. The Tajiks speak Farsi. The danger to Iran is posed by the Turks inhabiting its northern borders who have already torn down the walls of separation. The Iranians are Shias whereas the Farsi-speaking Tajik are Sunnis with their own culture and heritage. The Azeri Turks who live on the northern borders support Pan-Turkism. But this could create difficulties for Turkey and confront it with similar problems. These are the new fronts mentioned by foreign personalities.

I would say that while it appears to be nearing a solution, the Afghan problem is still insoluble. The issue has become so complicated that a mere change of government will not make any difference. If a new government is formed without the approval of the United States, it will not receive any aid and the problems of the return and rehabilitation of the refugees, instead of being solved, will become more serious. On the other hand, if a government approved by the United States comes into office, it will not be accepted by the mujaheddin. Because of tribalism, the prospects for the end of the war appear remote; and if there is no united decision, the Pashtuns as well could break up because there is not sufficient cohesion among the Pashtuns to keep them united. This could happen even after a government is established. If a government comes into office with the "support and approval" of all the Afghan leaders, then peace may become possible. However, conflicts may arise in the future with the Muslim Central Asian states and Iran because foreign powers do not want an Islamic government or an Islamic block. They are afraid that if Muslim countries unite and peace is established, a Muslim nuclear block will come into existence. The concern expressed by Benin Sevan points to a plan. These are, then, critical times for Pakistan also, for when the solution of the Afghan problem approached closer, linguistic and national differences in Pakistan were also

raised. Baloch-Pashtun clashes were arranged in Balochistan; efforts were made to incite the Pashtuns to join with the Frontier province. But the Pashtuns of the Frontier province no longer dream of creating a greater Pashtunistan by joining Kabul; they have seen what happened in Bangladesh and are aware of the internal situation in Kabul. At any rate, peace is not as imminent in Afghanistan as the world organizations would like it to be. The United States is now saying that the war in Afghanistan was in fact a war over possession of heroin producing areas even though for five years it helped the mujaheddin fully and monitored their actions by means of its communication satellites. If in fact the mujaheddin's war was over heroin bases, then the United States would have stopped its aid in 1980. Another U.S. report charges that Gulbedin Hekmatyar and Naseem Akhundzadeh were fighting over heroin producing areas. According to this report, 200 tons of heroin were produced in these areas in 1982 but the production had increased to 600 tons in 1985; the report further charged that the family and court attendants of Zahir Shah were involved in the drug trade. It is beside the point that the United States tried its best to restore Zahir Shah's monarchy. If the United States knew [about the drug trade involvement] in 1985, then why was it trying to restore Zahir Shah to the throne in 1991? The United States alone can explain this. It is interesting to note here that Gulbedin Hekmatyar and Maulvi Younus Khalis were receiving the major share of the aid and now both are accused of involvement in the drug trade. The fact is that Pakistani authorities are well acquainted with Younus Khalis who has lived for a long time in Peshawar; he has never been involved in the drug trade. It should be mentioned here that on these same pages [sic] it is reported that the CIA solicited and received the help of [drug] smugglers in its schemes to oust Iranian President Mohammad Mossadeq and to kill President Castro of Cuba. The CIA had also had a criminal released from Japan with the purpose of influencing Japanese politics. The fact is that no matter what the purpose, receiving help from a criminal is in itself a crime, for in this way one crime ends while another begins. I am making this point because the United States is saying that what it is doing is for a good purpose. Under these circumstances, the government of Pakistan will have to make important decisions in foreign and domestic affairs. As regards foreign affairs, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, before leaving for Austria, met for seven hours with Afghan mujaheddin's representative organizations and discussed important issues in detail following which Qazi Hussain Ahmad, leader of Jamat-i Islami was entrusted with the special mission of maintaining contacts with Gulbedin Hekmatyar of Hezb-i Islami, Ahmad Shah Masud of Jameat-i Islami and other Afghan leaders. By the time you read this article, important changes may already have taken place; Butrous Ghali, secretary general of the United Nations, is in Pakistan on a special mission to solve the Afghan problem. According to informed sources, he will meet the leaders of Afghan mujaheddin's representative organizations in Peshawar today. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif will also take part in

the meeting together with Qazi Hussain Ahmad, leader of Jamat-i Islami; Akram Zaki, secretary for foreign affairs and Siddique Khan Kanjoo, federal minister for foreign affairs. On the other hand, according to reports from Kabul, Hekmatyar has spoken to Ahmad Shah Masud over the wireless and convinced him not to obstruct the advance of his forces in Kabul. At any rate, the internal situation of Afghanistan is very serious and new reports are constantly being received. Ousted President Najibullah is anxious to escape from Kabul while the law and order situation grows ever more serious. If there is prolonged fighting, the situation may get out of control. The question is, will secretary general Butrous Ghali succeed in his mission. Undoubtedly, the manner in which the government of Pakistan has helped the United Nations and aided its brother country of Afghanistan is worthy of note. A sensitive department reports that the Muslim Afghans in the Central Asian states are waiting for the solution of the Afghanistan problem because of the ancient relations between these states and Pakistan. Recently, the government of Pakistan signed an agreement with Tajikistan according to which Pakistan will export to that country 500 million dollars worth of goods and receive electric power in return which will be a milestone in Pakistan's progress. The question here is, will the people of Afghanistan be divided into groups and Afghanistan partitioned as the European media and a super power desires; or will Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's hopes be fulfilled and the two major groups of Ahmad Shah Masud and Hekmatyar honor the spirit of Islamic brotherhood, use wisdom instead of emotion, and, at the end of the 14-year crisis in Afghanistan, form an interim council government of the mujaheddin; and, with unanimous consent, divide administrative posts in such a way as to allow the conduct of affairs in an efficient manner until elections are held. With the establishment of a friendly government in Afghanistan, a new era of progress will begin in Pakistan. Certain political circles regard the establishment of peace in Afghanistan as a certainty and believe that the results will emerge within a few days.

Afghan Developments Said Impacting on Balochistan

92AS0983D Karachi AKHBAR-E-JEHAN in Urdu
2 May 92 p 14

[Article by Akhtar Baloch: "New Developments in Afghanistan and Their Impact on Balochistan"]

[Text] Be it Afghanistan or Iran, whenever in either of these neighboring countries there are special developments or political changes, the effects are felt in Balochistan. The reason for this is that Balochistan has many strong relations with neighboring Afghanistan and Iran. In addition to racial, ethnic, cultural, spiritual, and economic relations, some tribes and families in various geographic regions are spread on both sides of the border. They have shared properties and business interests, and this tradition is hundreds of years old. When the government of one side, a tribe on either side, or

people within various tribes had confrontations with their counterparts, or even if there was a danger of such confrontation, then due to enmity or the way people crossed the border from either side and took refuge on the other side. This practice of border crossing could last a few days or for an entire lifetime. A minor incident becomes prolonged and can continue for years. These incidents include the Murray families, Nawab Khair Bux Murray's exile in Afghanistan, and Nawab Ghaus Bux Raisani's refuge in Afghanistan. After the revolution in Iran, Mir Karim Bux Sayyedi and Mir Maula Dadarkan's move to Balochistan along with the Parliament and thousands of families is among the historical events. The 2,500-year-old empire, which calls Cyrus the Great and Zualqarnin its ancestors, disappeared in no time, within two generations. The people who gave refuge to the whole world could not find refuge anywhere. In Iran, the religious clerics took over, and our state got all the problems. Innumerable families moved to this state, and we were forced to bear the economic burden of rehabilitating hundreds of thousands of people. Dozens of families have permanently settled in our cities and villages. We were still trying to tackle this problem when the kings of our other neighboring nation, Afghanistan, were trapped by communism. The armies of the former Soviet Union not only spread all over Afghanistan, but also endangered Pakistan's safety. In this situation, hundreds of thousands of Afghans also migrated to Pakistan. Almost one-third of Afghanistan's population settled in hundreds of camps in Sarhad and Balochistan, two of Pakistan's border states. These brothers shared in our limited resources and problems. That has happened, and this is a demonstration of Islamic wholeheartedness. The problem is that this also caused law-and-order difficulties. In addition to murder, looting, and smuggling, we suffered from the open movement of weapons and drugs. All of this shook us up greatly. Then some of our guests slowly began to dream of being the owners of our homes, and PNP [Pakistan National Party] leader Mir Bizan Bizanjo and Quetta Mayor Mir Maqbul began to complain. They said that an Afghan refugee had been elected as an MP [member of Parliament] from Quetta and had become a Cabinet member. Thus, that person was dropped from the next general election. The arrival of our guests gave impetus to our racial, ethnic, and cultural prejudices. These brothers, who were close to each other for hundreds of years, began to "throw fire at each other's chests." They began to work against each other. There is a lot to be said; however, in brief, we can say our society has suffered over 20 crises. What happened was that when the suffering masses of Afghanistan came to our country, they were accompanied by their criminal, terrorist, antisocial, and enemy agents. There was no way for us to identify them, and we still have no way to tell who is who. Such elements are present in every country, and they take advantage of various legal loopholes. We will have to suffer from the bad tide these guests brought to us, and our younger generations are being introduced to Kalashnikov and heroin cultures. God knows what other results we shall suffer. We tremble just thinking

about it. Anyhow, after the recent developments in Afghanistan, we feel encouraged. Disappointments are worse than anything else.

Perhaps the long period of violence and lawlessness in Afghanistan has affected the stability of the government in our country also. Our national resources were also destroyed along with rules and laws. Those who were committing crimes were also asserting themselves shamelessly.

The examples that are found in Balochistan about the government's administration, blackmailing, and other crimes in the political atmosphere are almost unimaginable. We had pride and self-respect. Perhaps we did not have entertainment, but we were worldly. However, during the last 10 to 15 years, everything was destroyed. So many things happened in such a short time. There must be some reason for all this, and we have discussed this reason above.

In Chief Minister Taj Mohammed Jamali's Cabinet, an MP named Abdulkarim Naushervani suddenly emerged as yet another minister. In this region, 13 persons who belonged to the Jamhuri Watan Party, have assured society that they wanted to be like Naushervani instead of getting cabinet positions. They wonder where this Cabinet position came from. Abdulkarim Naushervani has been a close associate of the Muslim League's chief minister and the prime minister for a long time. Nawab Bagti and his Jamhuri Watan party were waiting to see when he would take the oath as a minister. It was learned that the Taj administration was waiting for the green light from Islamabad. Mir Jamali's followers consider it victory over Bagti. One effect of this is that Mr. Taj is openly saying that it does not matter what happens; he does not care. According to him and Sayyed Ahmed Hashmi, minister of information, no minister wants to give up his position. If someone really wanted to resign, then he would not give verbal notice to the chief minister; he would write directly to the governor.

Sayyed Farooq Shah, vice president of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad], state president of the National People's Party, and former adviser to the state chief minister, believes that this was an idle threat. He says that none of the Taj Cabinet members were prepared to leave their positions. It is possible that these ministers and their parties wanted to run for the next election under the same flag while riding in a Peugeot or a land cruiser. There is a full possibility of their returning. According to Farooq Shah, the ministers belonging to Jamiat-Ulema-i Pakistan (JUI) are now talking in a low tone. They did not threaten resignations either. The PNP has openly announced that whatever happens, its members will not leave the state Cabinet.

Taj Jamali has the support of 30 of the 43 members of the Balochistan assembly. However, given the way things move, there could be a time when the Chief Minister Taj Jamali will find it impossible to save even his own position. If Nawab Bagti succeeds in bringing NOC

[expansion not given] from the United States of America, then it is not impossible for the former chief minister to establish a friendship with his traditional political rival, Zaffar Allah Khan Jamali, and form a (rather small) coalition. Meanwhile, it has been heard that the differences between Jam Mohammed Yusuf, president of the Balochistan Muslim League, and Chief Minister Jamali have been removed with the help of a three-member committee. One idea is that after this agreement, Jam Yusuf should resign from his seat and reinstate former Chief Minister Mir Zaffar Allah Khan Jamali to the state presidency.

The NPP's [National People's Party] state president has called Pakistan's demand for the return of hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees an unforgettable chapter of history. Finally, the people who deserve it are getting their rights, and they are returning voluntarily to their homes with their self-respect intact. At this time, our government should not play into the hands of political special interests or those of a particular party. Instead, it should help our Afghan brothers' long-standing efforts, and should offer open and selfless help to them in returning to their country.

There seems to be a lot of satisfaction among the members of Jamaat-i Islami Balochistan. The decision of its state party chief, Maulana Abdulhaq Baloch (former MNA [Member of National Assembly]), is praiseworthy. He has promised to help our Afghan brothers as much as possible. Maulana expressed his satisfaction over the fact that hundreds of Afghan families in camps in the northwest of Balochistan were thanking their Pakistani brothers for their hospitality before they returned to Afghanistan. The remaining Afghan refugees are also planning to return.

Kashmir: EEC Favors Pak-India Talks

92AS0993A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
15 May 92 p 3

[Article: "EEC for Pak-India Talks on Kashmir Issue: Zaki"]

[Text] Islamabad, May 14: European Economic Community [EEC] is now better aware of the human rights violations in Kashmir and favours a "meaningful and constructive dialogue between India and Pakistan" to peacefully settle the Kashmir dispute.

This was stated by Secretary General Foreign Affairs Akram Zaki while talking to newsmen Thursday at the Islamabad airport after his 11-day visit to Brussels, The Hague, Lisbon and London.

During his talks with members of the European Community, he said, he came back with the impression that they were supportive of negotiations between India and Pakistan to resolve the Kashmir problem.

Akram Zaki said members of the EEC expressed some concern on the disturbances in Afghanistan but hoped

that the situation would stabilise in due course of time. The EEC members, he said, expressed their satisfaction that "at least the political settlement of Afghan issue had been advanced." They were keen to know about the rehabilitation and repatriation of Afghan refugees as the EEC members in the past had contributed to the welfare of refugees.

He said that after having encouraged a peaceful settlement, Pakistan would maintain its relations with Afghanistan on state-to-state level and would not interfere in its internal affairs.

The European Community, he said, evinced interest in the issue of disarmament. The EEC members, he said, hoped that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's five-nation talks proposal to seek regional nuclear nonproliferation would get a positive response from India and it would gradually agree to resolve the issue.

Akram Zaki said the main purpose of his visit to three EEC members was to initiate a political dialogue and make endeavours for establishing an institutional base for regular cooperation. During his talks with officials of the European Community, he found a positive response on this count.

Pakistan, he said, enjoyed an important trading relationship with the EEC members as one-third of its exports to them and one-fourth of its imports items come from European Community members.

He said the economic reforms initiated by the government and the incentives given to foreign investors had made a deep impact on European countries. He said as European economies were based on private enterprise, their interest in Pakistan's economic reforms could be enhanced by giving them more information about the reforms. He said if the economic reforms were better known to EEC members they would participate in the development of Pakistan.

Akram Zaki said during the course of discussions with the European officials developments in Central Asia and the emergence of Economic Cooperation Organisation as an economic entity were also discussed.—APP

Private Discussions With Indians Said Progressing

92AS0991B Karachi DAWN in English 6 May 92
pp 11, 16

[Article by Javed Jabbar: "Closed Doors, Open Minds?"]

[Text] States cannot afford to experiment and governments do not like to fail. Thus thrives the logic for nonofficial dialogues in which specialists and scholars articulate concepts and notions, juggling them with such dexterity that it is often difficult to tell a private solo flight from an official glider, sent aloft to sense if there is change in the wind.

A nonofficial dialogue between Pakistan and India is always useful even when it does not produce immediate results or when it makes no difference to enduring difficulties. By engaging citizens in direct communication with each other, it helps bring about small, imperceptible but critically constructive improvements in mutual perceptions. For two countries that share so much geography and history, there is an appalling level of ignorance about each other.

Perhaps no contact other than between Pakistan and India better illustrates the advantages and disadvantages of holding discussions behind closed doors. Breeding on an already simmering cauldron of suspicion, fumes of speculation and conjecture rise up to cloud perceptions.

The nonofficial India-Pakistan Dialogue-II held in Islamabad from April 17 to 20, has spawned its own host of presumptions. Despite the release of the summary of discussions to the Press on April 21 in which reference is made to the fact that a comprehensive exchange took place on the Kashmir dispute, editorials and articles continue to be written on the assumption that Kashmir was not mentioned. A secret American hand is seen as if the two sides need someone else to tell them the obvious—that "talk" is better than "fight."

As a participant in the Dialogue who was also invited to co-chair the closed-door sessions on Kashmir and the nuclear issue with Mr I.K. Gujral, the former Indian Foreign Minister, this writer believes that the time has come to open the closed doors as a step towards opening closed minds. Hypersensitivities about respective policy positions notwithstanding, we should bring fixed postures out of the freezer and attempt to move from frigid poses to flexible options.

To say this is not to suggest surrender on basic principles of equity and justice as the essential foundations both for bilateral relations and for a resolution of the Kashmir issue. It is to emphasise that in the 1990's, the people of both countries and the people of Jammu and Kashmir are so sensitised to the wasteful and destructive consequences of the stagnant polarisation which characterises policies that pragmatic, realistic initiatives have become politically acceptable propositions.

There are merits in the confidentiality that comes with closed-door dialogues. Each participant and each side can speak bluntly, without media and people misunderstanding or misrepresenting bluntness as being an obstacle because misperceptions can be immediately dispelled before public reporting and uproar have drowned out the explanation. Trial balloons can be floated and examined closely before they are accepted or punctured, as the case may be. Covert official ears can listen in to overt nonofficial voices to assess the extent to which the other side is willing to be flexible. Some nonofficial voices may actually echo new official initiatives being offered tentatively to test the water.

Closed-door dialogues enable candour and adventure but they also tend to reinforce the unyielding positions

taken by Governments, in this case, particularly the Indian Government. Indeed, nonofficial closed-door dialogues often end up molly-coddling official positions, pandering to their peculiar particularities.

Public opinion in the two countries has moved ahead of the static positions taken by successive Governments and political leaders who fear the wrath of the people in case there is a hint of compromise. Instead of looking for the people over their shoulders in apprehension, Governments, political leaders and opinionmakers now need to look forward and catch up with the people who are increasingly impatient for a defusion of tension.

A nonofficial dialogue conducted with candour in full public view under the glare of camera lights and words being spoken into microphones heard, viewed and read by millions may at first cause consternation by its frankness. Or equally, it may result in a drying up of spontaneity and a mere repetition of official positions already taken. Either way, public exposure will be shock therapy, eventually helping to shake participants out of well-worn grooves.

Participants in Dialogue II reflected a range of disciplines and interests. From recently retired army chiefs of staff to inveterate politicians, from professional scholars to retired civil and foreign service officers, from leading lawyers to prominent activists. The numbers could have been greater to include some others; the duration should have been longer to enable more depth-charges. But the process was informative and stimulating.

While the in-camera aspect of the India-Pakistan Dialogue II sessions prevents this writer from quoting individuals by name, one is nevertheless able to formulate some general propositions about how Indian perceptions on vital issues are presently crystallizing: without Indians being necessarily willing to admit to them.

Firstly, despite the divergence of personalities and opinions amongst the Indian participants, it was apparent they share the view that India will have to talk with Pakistan about Kashmir: and the sooner the better. This represents notable progress from the Indian delusion of the past 20 years that, post-Simla, there is no need or justification to discuss Kashmir with Pakistan because the disputed State is legally an "integral" part of India. Whether by explicit admission by oblique inference from the comments of others, it is clear that there is virtual unanimity on the need for India and Pakistan to negotiate on Kashmir.

A suggestion made by an Indian participant that the Kashmir issue should be put on the back-burner for about 20 years while Pakistan and India went about improving their relations was instantly rejected by Pakistani speakers. Though the Indian guests did not specifically concede the point verbally, it was mutually understood that Kashmir remains a precondition to an improvement in relations.

The same consensus is fortuitously visible on the nuclear issue with Indian participants recognising the need for direct dialogue between the two countries either bilaterally or under the aegis of the 5-nation moot proposed in 1991 by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, irrespective of the Indian position on the NonProliferation Treaty. This too signifies an advancement upon the official Indian view on this issue under which the Indians wish to discuss nonproliferation in the global context before they do so in the regional context.

There was a remarkable proximity of views between specialist participants on ways to tackle the nuclear weapons question in a manner that could be acceptable to both. Thus, on both Kashmir and the nuclear weapons question, a distinct tilt towards the inevitability and urgency for an official dialogue with Pakistan was visible in, and between, the Indian lines spoken at this event.

There was also unanimity between generals and lawyers, politicians and scholars from both sides on the imperative to reduce expenditures on arms with the additional agreed observation that because it is fairly easy to fudge and cheat on budget figures, visible and verifiable reductions in troop strengths should be attempted. The Pakistanis insisted that the onus in this respect is firmly on India.

The second proposition that emerges from the Dialogue is more of a paradox. Noting the variety of proposals presented for a resolution of the Kashmir dispute, it is ironic that the precise territorial identity of Kashmir has been changing and shrinking in almost direct proportion to the longevity of the dispute and the recent increase in the intensity of the issue. What began as Jammu and Kashmir encompassing what is now the Northern Areas of Pakistan, Ladakh in India, Azad Kashmir on the Pakistan "side," Jammu on the Indian "side," is now sometimes presented as a question of the Valley alone. Implicitly it is taken for granted by some participants from both sides that the original, all-inclusive spread of the disputed state is part of unresolvable history. The Northern Areas are perceived to be as irretrievably Pakistani as Ladakh has become Indian. This alteration and variability in the territorial definition of the state in 1992 is ascribed as much to demographic, religious and ethnic diversity as it is to real-politik factor of which area is under which country's influence or control.

When the attempted mutilations of the original face of Kashmir are considered in the absence of a single authentic representative of the state as happened during this Dialogue, the act only underlines the indispensability of participation by the people of Kashmir in a resolution of their problem.

To this extent the participation remained inadequate though there was such representation in Dialogue I held in New Delhi in 1991. But virtually every facet of the crisis and almost every conceivable solution was debated. The option of an innovative United Nations

role was also discussed. Iqbal Jaffer in his article in these columns on April 16 has also presented an interesting option.

A refreshing realism on the Indian side was evident in a proposal made by one of their participants to the effect that a satisfactory settlement could only be possible when all 4 parties relevant to the issue sat together: the Government of Pakistan, the Government of India, representatives of Azad Kashmir, representatives of Indian-held Kashmir.

A third element to emerge from the exchanges is that Indians are quite worried about the price that India is having to pay for Kashmir. They begin by citing a figure of Rupees 20,000 crores that India claims to have spent on Kashmir because of its special status in the Indian Constitution and this leads to the occasional wail of despair that Kashmir is a "bottomless" pit in financial terms. There are murmurs of: "is it really worth it?" but the basis for this is as much the amount in rupees as well as the foreign hope that Pakistanis, too may, one day say "enough is enough" and that it is too small a matter to bedevil the total relationship.

Other costs are also becoming a burden. Over 400,000 men at arms now in their fourth year of occupation since the new upsurge began in 1989; the disappearance of tourism and its earnings; the loss of face across the world and the need to fabricate explanations for the violations of human rights. There is also the obstinacy of sheer size, the conviction that the scale of India can bear any cost and any loss as long as it takes to keep Kashmir an "integral" part of the Indian Union.

Beneath the pleasantries of goodwill from the Indian side, there is discernible the contemporary Indian psyche which fuses the arrogance of size with a humility in mannerism, the dangerous militarism of hegemonic ambition with civil, pacific, democratic continuity. There is at the same time the unspoken fear that a state too large and unwieldy held up by myths and might alone can suddenly collapse under the weight of its own pretensions.

Sometimes there is the bluster of the bully. In retaliation for supposed Pakistani support to the uprising in Kashmir and the violence in Punjab, it was said that pressure in India was growing to hit Pakistan where it could hurt most: step up the heat in Sindh and open a new front in Balochistan. Pakistanis did not blink: but we certainly reflected upon whether this was nervous desperation or cool, long-nurtured determination.

On certain fundamentals there is an alarming lack of difference between policy positions taken publicly by the Government of India and views expressed privately by Indian intelligentsia. For example, the contrived sanctity of a territorial integrity created by armed intervention becomes an icon of the intellect, a blind spot that blanks out reason and prevents rational discourse. In this way, even nonofficial dialogue sometimes becomes highly

official: during the drafting of the summary of discussions for Dialogue II, the joint committee had to sometimes check itself from sounding like a joint panel of the two Foreign Affairs' Ministries. In the event, each word and phrase of the summary had to be carefully vetted before a consensus was reached.

Participants in such a dialogue acquire the heavy duty of going away from an exchange to feed into the mainstream of national debate the different possibilities and options that have been debated, something akin to casting small patterns into the shifting mosaic of ideas and opportunities from which could emerge practical options for peace and security.

Industrial Assistance Offered to Iran

92AS0908B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 16 Apr 92 p 4

[News Report: "Esa Kalantari: 'Iran and Pakistan Share the Same Objectives and Problems,' Agriculture Minister of Iran Tours Karachi Shipyards; Offer To Build Agricultural Industry Plants"]

[Text] Karachi (staff reporter): Esa Kalantari, Iran's minister of agriculture, and his entourage toured Karachi shipyard and engineering works. The engineering director of the shipyard, Rear Admiral Javed Ali, explained the operation of the shipyard to the Iranian delegation. Up to now, 17 ships have been built for Iran and Iranian ships were among the 4,500 ships repaired so far. Javed Ali offered to have plants constructed in Iran for agricultural industries especially a modern sugar plant. The Iranian minister said, "Our existence depends on strengthening friendly relations and utilizing resources for mutual economic benefit. Iran and Pakistan have longstanding relations and the same objectives and problems. In view of the rapidly changing geographical situation, it is very important for the two countries to help each other and share each other's experience and expertise."

Organizations Active in Kashmir Militancy Reviewed

92AS1000B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 1 May 92 pp 36-37

[Article by Massod Anwar Siddiqi: "Kashmiri Jihad and Its Important Organizations"]

[Text] The people of Kashmir are going through the most sensitive period of their history. They have learned now that "God does not help those who do not help themselves." These brave Kashmiris confronting the Indian bosses are famous worldwide as freedom fighters. However, in order to get this title of freedom fighter, they had to "cross rivers of blood and fire" several times. Every family had to offer sacrifices of young men. Many valleys are occupied by the Indian military, and thousands of sisters and daughters have sacrificed their virginity.

Today, the freedom fighters are actually controlling the Kashmir Valley. They do not belong to one organization. As the atrocities of the Indian soldiers increased, youths of similar philosophies everywhere established organizations. They raised arms against the occupying Indian forces in their areas. We are giving details of the most important of these organizations below.

Hizb-i al-Mujaheddin—The most important military organization in Laddakh, Jammu and Kashmir is Hizb-i al-Mujaheddin. It was born in February 1989 and was established especially for Kashmir's freedom, according to a well-organized plan. Hizb-i al-Mujaheddin, which is Jamaat-i Islami Kashmir's militant arm, is led by veteran freedom fighter Sayyed Sallauddin. Its leaders are Ghulam Mohammed Safi and its chief commander is Mohammed Ahsan Dar. At present, more than 60 percent of the freedom fighters in all of Jammu and Kashmir belong to this Hizb-i al-Mujaheddin. It is the largest organization that supports the annexation of Kashmir with Pakistan, and it has played a major role in harming the Indian armed forces. How much fear India has of it can be estimated by the fact that this is the only organization that is targeted by its propaganda programs. Until now, all the Pakistani mujaheddin who sacrificed their lives side by side with their Kashmiri brothers belonged to this organization. Hizb-i al-Mujaheddin is very active in Kapwada, Baramula, Sri Nagar, Hadgam, Palwama, and Islamabad districts in the Kashmir valley and Dada Yunush, Rajauri, Udhham Pur, and Khatawa in Jammu. In the Laddakh area, it has expanded its sphere of activities in Kirgil.

Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front—The only organization that supports Kashmir's independence is the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). It is also the oldest organization. Many of its members, including Maqbul Ahmed Butt, sacrificed their lives for freedom from India. These days its chief commander is Javed Mir. Because of its demands of autonomy for Kashmir, its sphere of influence is shrinking. Therefore, it has started to reduce its call for autonomy. The JKLF is the second-largest organization after the Hizb-i al-Mujaheddin. It is very active in the Sri Nagar, District and Yunush, and Marajuri in Jammu.

Hizb-i Allah—Hizb-i Allah, which supports annexation to Pakistan, was established in 1990. It shows its allegiance to the Muslim League Party. Its commander, Mushtaq Ihsalam, is in an Indian Army jail. These days, its chief commander is Aitaab Ahmed Shah Advocate. Its area of activity is limited to the Kashmir Valley, and it is very active in the Sri Nagar area.

The people of Kashmir, in order to realize their dream of freeing the beautiful valley of Kashmir, are not only active in the military area, but also have decided to fight Indian atrocities at every front. In order to confront India in the political arena, 11 organizations established a coalition under the name of Tehriq-i Hariat Kashmir in 1990. The main goal of Tehriq-i Hariat Kashmir is to organize a joint platform of Kashmiri freedom fighters.

The slogan of this organization is, "Freedom for Islam." However, there are some doubts about the implementation of this slogan because, except for the Jamaat-i Islami, most of the organizations in it are new. They represent younger generations and are opposed to the older political system. This coalition also opposes the political leaders of the older system, regardless of whether they are members of the ruling party or are in the opposition.

The leadership of Tehriq is composed of lawyers and professionals from educational institutions. The convener of Tehriq-i Hariat Kashmir is Sri Nagar's renowned lawyer, Mian Abdul Qayum. He is in his 40's and was elected president of the Kashmir Bar Association. He also led a protest by lawyers in front of the UN office in Sri Nagar. After this, a series of demonstrations and protests started in Sri Nagar and the Indian governor had to implement a total curfew, which is still in effect. The parties included in the Tehriq are described below.

Tehriq-i Nifaz Shariat Islami—This Tehriq, which was established by Jamaat-i Islami, started to implement an Islamic form of government. This organization always raised questions of a legal nature about the legality of India's occupation of Jammu and Kashmir. It says that the present terrorism in Kashmir is a result of the Indian Government's presence there. It demands autonomy for Kashmir according to the UN resolutions and under UN supervision. The Jamaat-i Islami has dismissed this point, saying that Kashmir is an issue between India and Pakistan. The leader of the Jamaat-i Islami is Sayyed Ali Gailani, who is a well-known Parliamentarian and is very popular among the people. He was released in 1990 after spending two years in jail and was arrested again in March. He was recently released by the Indian Government after two years.

Muslim Conference—The Muslim Conference was established in 1988. It has named itself the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. This party, established for the purpose of supporting Islam, is led by 50-year-old Professor Abdul Ghani, chairman of the Persian department of Sopur College. He was forcibly fired by the governor of the occupied state in 1986. Professor Abdul Ghani was arrested during the first week of March 1990 along with 40-year-old Qazi Mansur Ahmed Advocate, general secretary of the party.

People's League—The People's League was established during former Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's term, when she had established emergency rule in Kashmir. It is composed of young people and various student groups. These student and youth organizations are the pro-Pakistan underground organizations, Al-Fateh and Students' Islamic Organization. Later, the Students' Islamic Organization quit, and the name of the forum changed to People's League. This league is led by 45-year-old journalist and writer Farooq Rehmani. He has written two books, titled "Search for Freedom" and "The Earthquake in Kashmir." Mr. Farooq Ahmed, who

hails from Baramulla District, is a very impressive leader. Since 1985, he has spent most of his time in jail.

Mr. Shabir Ahmed Shah, the general secretary of the league, hails from Islamabad (Anant Nag). He has been working on an underground campaign for Kashmir's freedom since 1980. He has also spent a long period in jail and is presently serving time, which he began in 1989. The league's general secretary, 33-year-old Aziz Sheikh, is also from the Islamabad District, which is famous for its militant groups.

Muhaz-i Azaadi (Independence front)—Muhaz-i Azaadi was established by a famous warrior of Kashmir's freedom, Sufi Mohammed Akbar, in 1975. He is considered one of the former associates of Sheikh Abdullah. Later, when Sheikh Abdullah joined Indira Gandhi, Sufi Mohammed Akbar separated himself from him. In 1988, he was appointed as the secretary of the Muhaz-i Azaadi.

Azam Inqlabi, a young man of 40 or 42 years, has been a member of the Islamic Students' League and the Islamic Study Circle, both established by the Khaksar Party, established by Hamid Inayat Allah Mashriqi. Azam Inqlabi belongs to a well-respected family of Sri Nagar. In the first half of 1989, he went to Pakistan soon after admission to the college. After returning to Kashmir, he was arrested and spent several months in jails, where he was very badly treated.

Azam Inqlabi established a military wing of the Muhaz-i Azaadi, by the name of Operation Balakot. This is part of Sayyed Ahmed's freedom struggle. Azam Inqlabi has said that these two movements in Jammu and Kashmir are tied. He is active around these days. The secretary general and acting president of the Muhaz-i Azaadi, Ahmed Bhatt, is also in jail.

Islamic Students' League—The Islamic Students' League was established in 1986, after Governor Jag Mohan's atrocious rule. Its founder is Shaker Ahmed Bakhshi. The four prominent members of this league, Javed Ahmed Mir, Ishtaq Majeed, Yaseen Malik and Abdul Ahmed Sheikh, have joined the JKLF. Ishtaq Majeed was assassinated in May 1990. This league is composed of people who support the Pakistani annexation of Kashmir.

Islamic Jamaat-i Tulba—The Islamic Jamaat-i Tulba, the student wing of the Jamaat-i Islami, was established in 1977. Its leader is Dr. Inderabi. The 38-year-old Dr. Inderabi, who has a doctorate from India's Pune University, has been a research fellow at Kashmir University. Most of the independence-related terrorism in the Kashmir Valley is the doing of the young men belonging to Islamic Jamaat-i Tulba. This organization supports Islamic fundamentalism, the only one which makes all arrangements for the ideological training of its members. The Jamaat-i Tulba is a strong supporter of an Iranian type of revolution.

Islamic Study Circle—Islamic students in government educational institutions established this group in 1968. Most of the time, it is nonpolitical and is very popular among graduate students, college and university professors, and government employees. It is chaired by Professor Dr. Yusuf al-Amar, chairman of the electric engineering department college at Sri Nagar. Under this study circle, a lot of work is done through the Iqbal Memorial Trust.

Dukhtran-i Millet—The Kashmiri women of the Jamaat-i Islami established this organization in 1984 to eradicate vices and other problems. The main purpose of Dukhtran-i Millet is to encourage Islamic traditions among women. The organization believes that the duty of women is to take care of household work and to train the new generation. It is the duty of women to free men of their worries about domestic problems so that they can satisfactorily focus on earning money to support the family. After this organization was established, its members were given military training to protect themselves from the Indian army's atrocities. The leader of this group is Dr. Inderabi's sister, Aisha Inderabi. This very effective organization of women is very angry at the JKLF's attitude about Islam.

Jamiat-i Ahalahadish Jammu and Kashmir—This is an old organization in this region. Its president Maulana is Abdullah Tarin. It is operating several Islamic schools and colleges.

Kashmir Bar Association—This association is chaired by well-known lawyer Mian Abdul Qayum. Mr. Abdul Qayum has gone underground because of the Indian Army's atrocities.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

National Security Seen Threatened by Sindh Violence

92AS0908E Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 15 Apr 92 p 5

[Editorial: "Country's Security in Danger?"]

[Text] It is now obvious that a major reason for the increase of disorder, brigandage and terrorism in Sindh is the irresponsible behaviour, incompetence and lack of action by the police. Had it not been for the police department's failure to carry out its duties, crime would have been nipped in the bud. The people and patriotic circles have constantly urged the government to take effective measures to create an active, honest, and responsible police force in order to improve the situation; but the authorities have never paid serious attention to the reform and purging of the police department. Mere perfunctory measures were officially taken to suspend and transfer certain officers and employees. These incomplete and halfhearted actions did not bring about any significant change in the situation.

Now the situation is so far out of control that even the chief I.G. [inspector general] of police in Sindh, Qamar Alam, is concerned. During a tour of Sindh, he told a gathering of prominent citizens that unless the shortcomings in the police department were remedied, the country's security could be in danger; that the corruption had become a cancer and bad elements would be purged. Qamar Alam has recently assumed the office of Sindh I.G. and after studying the situation and his department's performance, he has expressed his concern. He is better able to assess the seriousness of the situation and the dangers arising from it in the future.

The people were under the impression that the corruption and incompetence of the police had brought about an increase in disorder and crime; but the I.G. believes that shortcomings in the police department can endanger the country's security. His statement should make all patriotic people think; positive solutions and concrete suggestions are needed to protect the country's safety.

It appears that the police alone will not be able to control the fast occurring incidents of lawlessness, terrorism and sabotage in Sindh; the police, however, can at least identify professional criminals, troublemakers, terrorists and their patrons because the police know who the criminals and their patrons are and where they have their headquarters and the police can enable the law to capture them. Since the brigands and terrorists possess large quantities of modern automatic weapons and enjoy the patronage of certain influential enemies of the country, it is difficult for the police to capture them without the assistance of other agencies.

The I.G. has asked for help from the people in getting rid of police corruption; as for the people themselves, they would certainly not wish to remain victims of lawlessness and disorder and would cooperate with the I.G. The real issue is the protection of law abiding and honest citizens, for it has been observed that those who have identified criminals and corrupt police officials have suffered retribution from two sides. Criminals become their enemies and the police harass them with false charges. Thus, as long as honest, God fearing and efficient police officials do not come forward, problems of law and order will never be solved.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had also expressed dissatisfaction with the performance of the police department and had stressed the need for purging it. Special directives were issued in this connection by the federal minister of the interior; but several months passed and no effective measures for reform were taken. Appointments and transfers on high police levels were made in Sindh but not only did the situation not change, it also became even more serious.

The I.G. claims that the people will witness a change in a week's time; we pray that this may prove to be true. But the problem is not so simple; mischief makers and terrorists enjoy the protection of influential individuals and organizations masquerading in political garb. As

long as these elements remain untouched, efforts to improve the situation will not succeed.

Minister Opposes Division of Balochistan

92AS0983C Karachi AMN in Urdu 25 Apr 92 p 3

[News Report: "Slogans To Divide Balochistan Will Be Opposed—Bhutani"]

[Text] Lasbela, 24 April (AMN Correspondent)—Sardar Sabah Mohammed Bhutani, state minister of Balochistan, said that he totally opposes the movement to divide Balochistan because it is unrealistic. He was meeting with journalists in the municipal rest house. The minister of industry called the demands to divide the state as like chasing wild dreams. Sardar Bhutani confirmed the rumor that Balochistan's present chief minister did resign and that he was to replace him. He said that at one time, the present state chief minister, even though he is very cool and levelheaded, became emotional and submitted his resignation. According to Sardar Bhutani, his name was presented by the Muslim League parliamentary group for the position of chief minister. "However, because of some friends, especially some anarchist Muslim League members, this was not possible. Finally, I talked to the chief minister and convinced him to take back his resignation. He has received support from a majority of the state legislators. Now he is a chief minister with all the responsibilities and authority." Mr. Bhutani added that a state chief minister is sometimes pressured due to various conditions and feels helpless. This is not always the case, however. In answer to a question about a large amount being provided to Umrani Khan's cancer hospital, Sardar Bhutani said that it was done for the sake of humanity, and that the action of the chief minister of Balochistan is praiseworthy. In answer to a question about industrial progress, Mr. Bhutani said that the establishment of industrial units in Hub is taking place and that people are taking advantage of the tax holiday given by the government. The industrialists are investing money here. He mentioned that about 30 million rupees had been invested in Vinder industrial estate so far. He said that just like Hub, Vinder would also be a successful state, because all kinds of amenities have been provided to the industrialists.

Increasing Conflict in Balochistan Forecast

92AS0991D Karachi DAWN in English 10 May 92 p 11

[Editorial: "Trouble in Balochistan"]

[Text] Of late, Balochistan has been passing through a long spell of tension and conflict, causing deep anxiety all around. If proof of this was needed, it came in the form of an indefinite curfew which was clamped on Quetta and Sui after a PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leader was killed in Gandhoo and gun battles erupted in other places in the wake of the local bodies polls in the province on Thursday. In fact, for a week Balochistan

had been in the grip of serious tension as the two major ethnic groups vied to seize the high ground in the election campaign. Small wonder then that the inclusion of twelve new wards in the Quetta Municipal Corporation which would have given the Balochs an advantage led to a backlash from the Pushtoons. The Quetta elections had to be postponed but that did not defuse the crisis. The strikes and counterstrikes only added to the gravity of the situation.

Against the backdrop of growing ethnic and communal tension and hostility in the province, these election-related incidents have brought the molten situation to a point of serious outburst. Since October last year, when the controversy over the proposed shifting of an agricultural college from Mastung had resulted in a spasm of ethnic violence, Balochistan has known little peace. Then came the agitation against the Zikris, a minority sect, in the month of Ramazan. There were strikes and a section of the ulema courted arrests to protest against what they perceived as the government's reluctance to use coercive methods to prevent the Zikris from observing some of their rituals in Turbat.

The sad fact is that Balochistan which is the most backward and impoverished of all the provinces is now being tormented by tribal, ethnic and sectarian divisiveness. Long years of sterile martial law rule and the absence of political and constitutional government have denied the Baloch society the political experience necessary to create sociocultural harmony and a spirit of coexistence between its people of diverse origins and interests. As such, the democratic experiment which has been launched since 1988 has created an additional factor of contention—namely, a mad scramble for power and opportunities—which has enhanced the fractiousness of provincial politics. In the absence of a stable party system, a manifestation of which is the loosely-knit multi-party coalition in office in Quetta, differences on even minor issues tend to get magnified.

The situation has been exacerbated further by the deteriorating state of the economy of the province. With the economic cake diminishing in size and the number of claimants forever increasing, it is not surprising that any competing claims or disagreement tend to snowball and acquire serious ethnic or sectarian dimensions. History has demonstrated time and again that people of diverse views and backgrounds manage to get along well in times of prosperity and plenty. If the Balochs and the Pushtoons are now finding it difficult to coexist and the Zikri minority is at the receiving end of a new brand of intolerance, the roots of the problem go much deeper than is realised. They should be investigated and addressed seriously.

Common sense and political statesmanship demand that the present situation is not treated as a purely law and order problem. Curfews and police action are no doubt needed on such occasions as measures of crisis management and to check violence and bloodshed from spreading. But a long-term approach is essential. On the

political level, an effort must be made to promote amity and cooperation among the different groups by encouraging participation in the democratic process on non-ethnic lines. Socially and culturally, some integration is possible with the spread of education and literacy, while concerted effort should be made for the rapid economic uplift of the province. Some political foresight and wisdom shown by the leadership in Quetta and Islamabad can change the friction-ridden political and ethnic environment in Balochistan.

JI Leader Interviewed on Differences With Government

92AS0909B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu (Special Supplement) 17 Apr 92 p 4

[Interview of Professor Ghaffur Ahmad, deputy chairman of Jamaat-i Islami (JI) by Saeed Ahmad; place and date not given: "The Government Is Dancing to America's Tune"]

[Text] A man of stable temperament and political acumen, Professor Ghaffur Ahmad has seen many ups and downs in Pakistani politics. He is noted for his deep insight into events and their causes; before the Bhutto term of office, he had gained distinction and an honorable reputation in domestic politics. During the Bhutto term of office when opposition parties united on a platform of Qaumi Ittehad [national unity], the important responsibilities of the office of the secretary general were shouldered by Prof. Ghaffur Ahmad; he was also a member of the negotiating team of Qaumi Ittehad. During martial law, he was made a minister but during his term of office he neither asked for nor granted favors. When he saw that General Zia was going back on his promises, he resigned his office as minister and returned home. In 1988, he was made secretary general of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad [IJI] and he worked methodically to maintain the organization and work of IJI. However, after IJI participated in the 1990 elections and came into office, Ghaffur Ahmad remained dissatisfied and critical of the IJI president and finally resigned his post as general secretary of IJI.

Prof. Ghaffur Ahmad has played a prominent part in making Jamaat-i Islami active, effective, and organized.

Recently he paid a short visit to Bahawalpur where he talked to journalists at the press club. He also answered a few questions especially for JASARAT.

Here are the questions and Prof. Ghaffur Ahmad's answers:

[Question] Could you shed some light on the Sindh issue and give us some details?

[Answer] The province of Sindh is important for the entire country. Karachi is important not only because it is the country's only large city and harbor, but also because a large number of muhajir [emigrants] live there as well as people from all parts of the country. People of

all classes and different languages used to live in love and harmony in Karachi; the Sindhis welcomed the muhajirs with great affection and the people did not think of themselves as Punjabi, Pathan, Baloch, or Sindhi. But these prejudices began to grow or were encouraged to grow under the last martial law and the aim was to end countrywide parties because it was easy to catch small parties and groups. Thus, MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] sprang up in the cities of Sindh and Jai Sindh in the rural areas. In the beginning, the two cooperated but that did not last long. The new generation in Sindh is now out of control. It is armed with the latest automatic weapons and there is plenty of money around, which comes in the form of contributions or in some other way; but there is plenty of [text missing.] The police no longer show up during disturbances or theft in Sindh because the other side is more organized and armed with more modern weapons. The situation is even worse in the interior of Sindh where kidnapping has become big business. The criterion for abduction is not whether the individual is Sindhi, Punjabi or belongs to some other group but only whether he is rich. The administration is an equal partner in this. In Karachi and Sindh the question now is not of law and order alone but of the destruction of love; and the emotional attachment to Pakistan is eroding as well. The federal government is a spectator and for its own political reasons, will not displease anyone. The provincial government is helpless. Fifty percent of the provincial government consists of MQM members.

[Question] What then is the solution to the Sindh problem?

[Answer] The solution lies with the people who live in Sindh. They should not have faith in the government any longer. Industry, orchards, agriculture, and business have been destroyed in Sindh. No one can travel on the highways; even in daytime, caravans of 8 or 10 buses and cars travel with ranger escorts. A few terrorists have silenced the people and this is against the ideology of Pakistan. It gives India the opportunity it is looking for; Jai Sindh wants Sindh to be independent and Karachi to become another Hong Kong. The United States also wants to reduce Pakistan to a state of helplessness by making short work of Sindh. To solve Sindh's problems, all political parties will have to get together and prepare a plan of action. Meetings and contacts with political parties have already started.

[Question] What is the role of the People's Party in regard to Sindh?

[Answer] We may differ over political ideology with the People's Party but it is a countrywide organization and it talks of federation. It is another matter that when in Sindh, it talks in a different tone and manner. Nevertheless, we will establish contact and talk with the People's Party concerning solutions for Sindh's problems; we are ready to talk even with Jai Sindh, for our allegiance is to Pakistan and Islam.

[Question] Why is it that Islami Jamhoori Ittehad did not remain active?

[Answer] Islami Jamhoori Ittehad is a national trust. All parties united to announce that fact and the nation trusted Islami Jamhoori Ittehad and handed the reins of power to it. The president of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad is now the prime minister; but it has been the policy of the IJI president that IJI should not exist as an organization. The duty for organizing the party rested on Nawaz Sharif, for he is the president of IJI as well as the prime minister. On 11 February, all the offices of the IJI were ended and the prime minister was informed in January during his visit to Karachi that this step would be taken. Anyway, it appears that our authorities want the cars they drive to have no brakes, only accelerators. The prime minister did not allow IJI to exist as an organization. The nation can demand an reckoning and God will surely do so. I had resigned several months earlier because I did not want to hold any office in an organization, which did not exist.

[Question] Will Jamaat-i Islami remain a part of IJI?

[Answer] The consultative body of Jamaat-i Islami will decide that.

[Question] Why didn't Jamaat-i Islami head any ministries in the government?

[Answer] The Jamaat did not have enough members to be able to obtain the ministries it wanted and there was no advantage in heading any ministries because the prime minister sets the policy. Nevertheless, Jamaat-i Islami was active.

[Question] What is expected of the APC [All Parties Conference]?

[Answer] We have friends in the APC but APC did not produce any positive results in the past. They are people of different views; people come to the gatherings and processions to see one or two of the leaders.

[Question] What do you think of the government's self-employment scheme?

[Answer] The self-employment scheme has just started but the hundreds and thousands of rupees that are being spent on its advertisement and propaganda should be given to the poor instead.

[Question] What is the solution for the high cost of living?

[Answer] The high cost of living is a huge monster; members of the assembly should raise the issue in the assembly but they do not discuss the problems of the people in the assembly; the assembly members only get their own problems solved. On the other hand, matters look right to President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Elections have become a business; 4 or 5 hundred thousand rupees are spent and millions of rupees are gained. Our government continues to spend royally. In a country where the

people do not have bread to eat, one ashtray alone in the prime minister's official residence costs 18,000 rupees. Our government does what the United States tells it to do; it has to accept the United States as its master.

[Question] How do you like Bahawalpur?

[Answer] Bahawalpur is a nice, quiet city; but for some reason, there has been no progress here. The deprivations and backwardness of this area should be remedied because deprivation and backwardness are the hotbed of problems

JUI Leader Interviewed on Turmoil in Balochistan

92AS0909A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 18 Apr 92 p 6

[Interview of Maulana Abdul Ghafur Haidari, leader of the Jameat-i Ulema-i Islam (JUI) and provincial minister, by Suhail Afzal and Azam Gondal; place and date not given: "If the Present Government Falls, We Will Form a Government in Balochistan: 'There Are No Last Words in Politics; We Do Not Consider It Wrong If Someone Cooperates With Us in Accordance With Our Principles'"]

[Text] Maulana Abdul Ghafur Haidari is the leader of Jameat-i Ulema-i Islam [JUI] of Balochistan; he is also JUI's parliamentary leader in the provincial assembly and minister of municipalities in the government. As a student, he was the leader of Jameat-i Talaba-i Islam of Balochistan and central vice president. He participated whole heartedly in the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] and was arrested for his role in the movement; he was incarcerated for a year in Mugh jail. He comes from Qalat city, ran for office for the first time in the 1990 elections and was successful. He was elected the parliamentary leader by his party. He is the deputy secretary general of the Balochistan JUI. He does not look like a minister but like his leader Mufti Mahmud, he has continued to lead a simple and ascetic life. When he recently visited Karachi, we had a long conversation with him, parts of which are given below.

[JASARAT] Recent events show that there is a political crisis in Balochistan; how long is the coalition government expected to last?

[Maulana] In the 1990 elections, Nawab Akbar Bagti gained a majority vote; however, since we had participated with Akbar Bagti in the government, we could not join him again. The JUI then made plans and created an atmosphere which would prevent Nawab Akbar Bagti from coming into office again. We established relations with IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] and other parties and our efforts were successful. Nawab Akbar Bagti was defeated. We preferred Taj Mohammad Jamali for two reasons; first, we could join Jamali's government and work for the province's progress. Second, we would end the feelings of hatred created between the Baluchs and Pashtuns in Balochistan. We would restore law and order in the province and change hatreds into love. But after just two or three months we realized that Jamali was

paying no attention to these issues. We had several meetings with him to bring these matters to his attention but our efforts did not produce the desired results. We have submitted our latest report on the matter to our provincial party. We are now deliberating as to what we should do because events are moving so fast that Jamali may no longer be in charge of the provincial government. We have got in touch with various other party leaders in regard to this matter.

[JASARAT] Will Akbar Bagti form another government?

[Maulana] If the present government falls, then we are trying to bring a JUI government into office. JUI is the only party in Balochistan with which other parties can form an alliance because, under the present circumstances, no one is ready to join Akbar Bagti.

[JASARAT] What about the PNP [Pakistan National Party]?

[Maulana] The other independent members do not trust the PNP leadership; they feel that on one side there is Nawab Akbar Bagti, and on the other side also there are sardars [chiefs] in the PNP. Conditions will not change much if the sardars come into office whereas everyone, whether friend or outsider, approves of JUI's performance. JUI's positive role in the present government also is one reason other parties have confidence in JUI. JUI has played an unequivocal role in the Baloch-Pashtun disturbances. We convened an All Parties Conference in which all except two parties participated. I was unanimously elected chairman of the All Parties Conference.

[JASARAT] But the Muslim League will be displeased if Jamali is dismissed. ANP [Awami National Party] and other patriotic organizations are opposed to you. Did you not break your earlier pact with Nawab Akbar Bagti?

[Maulana] Akbar Bagti will cooperate with us.

[JASARAT] Maulana, there is disagreement over this in your party; the contradictory statements of your provincial leader and deputy general secretary were published in the press. One supported forming a coalition government with Nawab Bagti and the other opposed it.

[Maulana] You know what press reports are like.

[JASARAT] But the statements were based on their personal views.

[Maulana] There was no such disagreement. What happened was that Illahi Baksh Sumro got in touch with Hafez Hussain Ahmad to the effect that if an alliance were to be formed between the Jumhuri Watan party and JUI, a desirable government would be formed. Maulana Shirani, however, did not know of this exchange.

[JASARAT] There is then no difference of opinion and all members of the party agree that there should be cooperation again with Akbar Bagti?

[Maulana] You know that the decisions of JUI are based on a majority vote, one could say even unanimous agreement; if there is any cooperation with Bagti, it would be with the full support of the party.

[JASARAT] This poses a contradiction that does not become a party of principle such as JUI. In the past term, you were opposed to Akbar Bagti, condemned his policy and decided not to cooperate with him. But now you want to cooperate with him. Your decision is based not on principle but on quest for office. Furthermore, you have only five or six members and they have more. Will not your government be a weak one again?

[Maulana] The fact is that there are no last words in politics. We have our principles and party regulations; if anyone wishes to cooperate with us on the basis of our principles, we do not consider that wrong. Furthermore, this time the situation will be different. The last time, they were the leaders and we were with them; this time, we will be the leaders. If someone wishes to cooperate with us on the basis of our principles, I would consider that a desirable outcome.

[JASARAT] How long will this new cooperation last? The situation will be the same as before; they will not act according to your wishes and you will not be able to bring about any improvements.

[Maulana] I do not think so; if office and power is in the right hands, then better measures can be taken. You know that when Mufti Mahmud was the chief minister, he had the National Awami party with him; but since the real power lies in the hands of the chief minister and he is in charge of many things, Mufti Mahmud was able to put through many measures that were opposed by ANP in principle. For example, Mufti Mahmud introduced the purdah [veil? part of word missing] system and closed down liquor stores. If we have such powers, we also can accomplish many things.

[JASARAT] That was a very strong government whereas you will be in a weak position.

[Maulana] We will form a strong government.

[JASARAT] How so? There will be outside members to gain whose support you will have to make many concessions. What will happen if they refuse to cooperate with you on certain issues? For example, Akbar Bagti and the patriots will not agree with you on the Zikri issue.

[Maulana] As I understand, the Zikri issue does not pose any problem for Akbar Bagti. The Zikri issue involves a few people elected from Makran; Nawab Bagti's position on this issue is a moderate one.

[JASARAT] I gather from what you are saying that the Jamali government will not last long?

[Maulana] You may draw your own conclusions but events seem to be leading up to that outcome; Jamali's position is getting weaker by the day.

[JASARAT] What is your agenda for dealing with the situation? Will you initiate a resolution of no confidence?

[Maulana] An agenda will be prepared; at present we are merely observing events. The members of Jamali's own party are now expressing their opposition to him; obviously he has certain shortcomings."

[JASARAT] You said a little while ago that Illahi Baksh Sumro asked you to join the Jumhuri Watan party in forming a government. Is this not interference by the center that played an important role in having Jamali nominated the chief minister?

[Maulana] This is a common occurrence and the practice will continue as long as the provinces do not gain autonomy in the true sense of the word. In 1990 when we were forming a government, ours was the last government formed simply because we were establishing a government in Balochistan, which did not have the approval of the central government. The minister of the interior came from Islamabad and met with me but we did not do what he wanted. We declared unequivocally that we would not accept his stand.

[JASARAT] What did he want?

[Maulana] He wanted IJI, JUI and JWP [Jamhoori Watan] to form a coalition government under the leadership of Nawab Akbar Bagti but we refused.

[JASARAT] This time you are honoring their wishes?

[Maulana] No; our wishes are being honored this time as well.

[JASARAT] "Will you include PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] in your new government?

[Maulana] We will accept them if they cooperate with us. We will include all those who cooperate with us.

[JASARAT] But those who cooperate with you will also demand something in return.

[Maulana] (smiling) At the most, they will want a ministry.

[JASARAT] Many charges were leveled at the Akbar Bagti government; it was accused of election fraud and your party as well made some accusations. When Jamali became chief minister, some people made some decisions and some announcements but the whole issue subsided and no steps were taken against the officials. Can you tell us why the issue was suppressed; was the center responsible for that?

[Maulana] The fraud charges came from the center and that is why the center took no further steps. As I said before, such interferences are common.

Jamat-I-Islami Party Resolutions Reviewed*92AS0908D Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 22 Apr 92 p 5*

[Editorial: "Jamat-I-Islami's Resolution"]

[Text] In its meeting of the central executive committee last Monday, Jamat-i-Islami of Pakistan reviewed the country's situation in detail. Compared to other parties, Jamat-i-Islami has this prominent good feature that its central executive committee discusses fully the most important domestic issues and presents them to the people accompanied by examples and arguments. The committee does not just get together to converse and make accusations. This session, the executive committee passed resolutions on various issues, which will eventually be reported in the newspapers. The most important problems concern the economy and law and order, which are all interconnected. The resolution that was speedily passed in regard to this matter makes the basic point that the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad [IJI] government was not acting according to its charter. This fact was pointed out a long time ago, for Jamat-i-Islami is not only a member of the IJI but also one of its founders. In the past as well, after coming into office, parties have forgotten their manifestos and election promises; but the IJI is in a somewhat different situation. No single party is in office; the government consists of an alliance of several parties and in the various constituencies, the people undoubtedly want to know from their parties as to what happened to their manifesto and their promises. The responsibility for carrying out the terms of the manifesto and fulfilling the promises falls in effect on the Muslim League and the other parties can only protest and demand answers. On the other hand, an important fact to be noted is that the IJI came into power after the People's Party's 20-month-term of office. The people expressed their confidence in IJI after seeing the actions of the People's Party on the one hand, and the manifesto of the IJI on the other. If the [government's] actions remain the same as those of the previous one, and it shows no sign of acting in accordance with its manifesto,

then how long will the people's confidence in the government last? Industrial revolution, the advantages of private enterprise, lower prices for necessities, the end of unemployment, all these are problems that can only be solved gradually. But first there should be a feeling of reassurance that the government wants to achieve all these objectives. As to what the government really wants to do, one example alone should suffice. It was clearly stated in the manifesto and the promises made during the elections that the IJI would put an end to the practice of charging interest. A federal minister is now openly saying that interest will continue to be charged. This example should give a rough idea of the government's intentions. It is now up to government as to how fast and to what an extent it disappoints the people.

Nuclear Program Said Progressing Without Halt*92AS0908A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 16 Apr 92 p 1*

[News Report: "Foreign Office: 'Nuclear Program Has Not Been Set Back;' Work Continues on the Nuclear Program in Order To Fulfill the Energy Needs of the Country"]

[Text] Islamabad (JASARAT correspondent): Pakistan has said that its nuclear program has not been reversed and that work continues on the peaceful nuclear program. A foreign office spokesman said in Islamabad that Pakistan's nuclear program for peaceful purposes has not been ended; work continues on it in order to fulfill the energy needs of the country and that other benefits would be derived as well by promoting nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. The foreign office spokesman was commenting on reports regarding the halting of the nuclear program. He denied the reports and the charge leveled by senator Tariq Chowdhry. Referring to the prime minister's statement in Atak on Tuesday, he said that Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif had rejected unequivocally any bargaining over Pakistan's national interests. It should be noted that during his tour of the United States, Foreign Secretary Shaheryar Khan had indicated that the nuclear program would be set back to pre-1990 status.

Prime Minister Criticized on Overprivatization

92AS0991E Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 92 p 11

[Editorial: "PM's Strange Logic"]

[Text] The Prime Minister has tried to explain his government's failure to keep law and order and devise feasible policies to improve the social sector. Speaking at the convocation of the King Edward Medical College, Mr Nawaz Sharif said that the government was caught in a tight corner of running things from schools to industries while its real functions of providing security to the citizens and conducting policy-making at a high level had suffered seriously. While one may not fully agree with the Prime Minister's way of looking at things, what is more disturbing is the remedy he has suggested. He believes that the government's task can be made easier by handing over education, health, industries, etc., to the private sector. In keeping with this view, he has offered to privatise the BHUs [expansion not given] and hand them to the doctors rather than allocate huge funds to them.

This reasoning betrays a basic lack of understanding of the fundamental duties of a government and the inability to organise and coordinate the multifarious tasks the administration is expected to perform. It should be made clear right at the start that given the size of the administration in Pakistan at every level, there is no justification for its inability to cope with the tasks that truly belong to its sphere of responsibility. Of course, this could be quite a challenge if the government decides to concentrate all powers and responsibilities in the hands of those in the higher echelons of the bureaucracy—which has been traditionally the case in Pakistan. Prudent decentralisation, delegation of authority and devolution of powers can enable the government to attend to issues of a varied nature and handle them quite efficiently.

Take the case of the BHUs which the Prime Minister mentioned as one of the institutions he would like to

privatise. The health units are located in the rural areas and are designed to provide preventive medical care and treatment to the people for simple ailments. Their other function is to refer more serious cases to the tehsil hospitals. The BHUs can very easily be managed by the local bodies because that would hardly call for any expertise of a special nature. Since by their very nature, the health units are not required to use highly sophisticated equipment and one doctor and two or three paramedics are sufficient to operate them, these institutions do not require a heavy financial investment in terms of both capital cost and recurrent expenditure. At the same time they can provide useful service to the people in the countryside, most of whom are not rich enough to travel to the cities to seek help from private doctors or hospitals for minor but troublesome illnesses.

The proposal to privatise the BHUs could, on the contrary, be quite regressive move. It is unlikely that there would be many buyers for the 4,211 BHUs that are operating in the country at present. Even those few that may be taken over by the private sector would be run as profitable commercial concerns. In other words, the people will be expected to pay the full cost for the treatment they receive. This would amount to denying the impoverished citizens of the rural areas of the new health facilities that are available to them at an affordable price. One can only hope that the Prime Minister would cease viewing privatisation as a panacea for all our ills. Running a BHU is not such a taxing job as to prevent the government functionaries from attending to more important state duties.

Budget: Editorial, Views, Commentaries

Budget Outlined

92AS0995A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
15 May 92 p 1

[Article: "Budget at a Glance"]

[Text]

Budget at a Glance (Rs in millions)

		1992-93 Budget			1992-93 Budget
REVENUE			CAPITAL		
A)	TAX REVENUE	160541.1	A)	INTERNAL RESOURCES (1+2+3)	-20890.6
	Taxes on Income and Wealth (Direct Taxes)	30248.8	1	Federal Government	-24090.6
	Taxes on Commodities and Transactions (Indirect Taxes)	128052.3		(i) Revenue Surplus	-40210.7
B)	NON TAX REVENUE	145722.6		(ii) Net Capital Receipts (a-b)	16120.1
	Income from Property & Enterprises	36430.9		(a) Capital Receipts	110552.9

Budget at a Glance
(Rs in millions) (Continued)

		1992-93 Budget			1992-93 Budget
REVENUE			CAPITAL		
	Receipts from Civil Administration and Other Functions	29291.7		(b) Capital Disbursement	94432.8
C)	SURCHARGES	17194.3	2.	Self-financing by Autonomous Bodies	0.0
	Natural Gas	7710.3	3.	Financing for S.A.P.	3200.0
	Petroleum	9484.0	B)	EXTERNAL RESOURCES	49600.3
D)	TOTAL GROSS REVENUE RECEIPTS (A+B+C)	243458.0		(i) Project Aid	29345.0
	Less: Provincial Share in taxes	64853.9		(ii) Non-Project Aid	20255.3
E)	NET FEDERAL REVENUE (1)	178604.1		Total (A+B)	28709.7
CURRENT EXPENDITURE		218814.8	C)	DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE (PSDP)	74099.8
	General Administration	10776.9		(i) Federal Government (a+b+c)	54899.8
	Defence	82152.3		(a) Departments	23129.8
	Law and Order	4284.0		(b) Autonomous Bodies	26100.
	Community Services	3539.6		(c) Special Programme	5670.0
	Social Services	6768.6		(ii) Provincial ADPs	17600.0
	Economic Services	1326.5		Punjab	8494.3
	Subsidies	5048.7		Sindh	3386.4
	Debt Servicing	93175.8		NWFP	3999.7
	Grants to AJK, Railways & Other	9235.5		Balochistan	1719.6
	Unallocable	2506.9		(iii) Social Action Plan	1600.0
FEDERAL REVENUE ACCOUNT DEFICIT (1-2)		-40210.7		Total (i+ii+iii)	74099.8
SURPLUS AVAILABLE FOR DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE		-40210.7		GAP	-45390.1

Speech Text

92AS0995B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
15 May 92 p 10

[Article: "Text of the Budget Speech"]

[Text] Defending his budget, the finance minister in his speech said that the world has been overtaken by historic events. Their impact is going to be global. Our own economic and financial policies cannot escape their influence. Before presenting the budget proposals, it therefore seems necessary that I touch upon these changing conditions.

We are steering through a difficult period. The course of development and stability is as problematic as it is bright. Some of these difficulties are of our own creation; the rest spring from international and regional circumstances beyond our control. The budget cannot provide a solution to all these problems but, better economic policies do help in easing the situation. While striving for economic development, we need to pay our urgent attention to financial problems and social issues. The Prime Minister in his frank and forthright address to the nation (of 5th May, 1992) took stock of the difficulties, challenges and prospects facing the country. We all have to work together for resolving these issues. They demand untiring efforts, spirit of sacrifice and national cohesion.

The course of the current year has been marked by a number of epochal events. The monolithic Soviet Union broke up giving birth to new independent states; Islamic states have emerged in Central Asia; earlier the two Germanies got unified, Yugoslavia has disintegrated; the 13-year war in Afghanistan has ended, leading to the establishing of an Islamic State and efforts to bring peace to the Middle East are in progress. In the economic sphere, similarly, recession in advanced countries, increase in trade barriers and the collapse of the Socialist system will have an impact on our economy and trade. Developments on the Eastern side of our border are also having repercussions on us. How right was Allama Iqbal when he said some sixty years ago

In the past decade, many countries have introduced fundamental changes in their economic and development structures. In the light of their experience, they have realized that a market economy which is free from controls and regulations can make better use of their resources. They have used these changes effectively for accelerating the pace of their development

In Pakistan also, the need for making fundamental changes in the economic policies was being felt for some years, but no notable step was taken in this direction. When the present Government assumed office in November, 1990, the economy was dominated by Government controls and the private sector was sluggish, the rate of national savings was low and the country was under the huge burden of domestic and external debt arising out of budget deficits of the previous years. Employment, education, health and other social services were inadequate and a general atmosphere of uncertainty was prevailing

The Government felt that problems were so deeply rooted that mere patchwork in existing policies was not enough and that it was essential that fundamental changes were brought about in various aspects of the economy. Therefore, within a few months of assuming office the Government introduced a comprehensive programme of economic reforms which is opening up additional avenues of development and employment. We have removed unnecessary controls and barriers from industry, trade and other sectors of the economy. The people can now invest without obtaining Government sanction and establish new industries, generate employment opportunities and play their due role in the progress of the country. The role and activities of the public sector are being curtailed simultaneously. The Government will, instead of running industry and business, concentrate on its essential responsibilities such as provisions of education, health and other services to the people. The main function of the Government is to provide basic amenities to the people and introduce such incentives, laws and regulations so as to ensure the rights of every citizen. The Government should not get involved in such activities which can better be performed by the private sector

Our privatization policy is an important part of our deregulation policy. This will not only reduce our budget deficit and accelerate investment but with the reduction in the activities of the public sector, the Government should be able to focus added attention on other issues and responsibilities such as law and order and social services. We have simplified the investment procedures, liberalized trade, rationalized tariff structure and removed curbs on foreign exchange and investment. These steps have produced the desired results. Investments are rising rapidly, the prices of shares have surged, production and export performance have improved, foreign currency accounts have increased and foreign exchange reserves have stabilized.

The process of privatization has gathered momentum and speed. Over 50 industrial units have been sold and negotiations for the sale of other units are in different stages. Two nationalized banks have been sold and over 2 dozen commercial and investment banks are being established in the private sector. Three power stations are being set up in the private sector.

We are also undertaking appropriate legal and administrative steps to protect the rights of the workers of the privatized units. On this occasion, I would like to pay tribute to the Worker Community as it has taken privatization in the national perspective and are sincerely trying for its success. It is a matter of satisfaction that most of the privatized units are being reorganized and their production capacity expanded. This will generate greater employment opportunities. Besides, the process of privatization will enable the Government to get rid of the perennial problem of deficit which is a burden on the budget every year.

The State Bank and the Corporate Law Authority are being made more effective in supervising the private sector financial institutions and are formulating rules to protect the rights of the consumers.

Such changes are being introduced in the financial and fiscal policies that will ensure equitable distribution of wealth and the fruits of development are shared equally by all parts of the country, in particular rural and backward areas. Most of our industrialists and investors are responsible citizens and conscious of their social and moral duty. They are also aware that a clean environment, better education and health facilities and satisfied workers will result in better performance of their organization.

It will take some time for the full impact of these reforms to become visible. However, some positive trends are already being witnessed. National income is gradually rising and growth rate in the Gross Domestic Products [GDP] has increased from 5.6 percent in 1990-91 to 6.4 percent in the current year. This year, agriculture has recorded a growth of 6.4 percent as against 5.1 percent last year. Cotton has a major share in this growth rate as its production will exceed the record level of 12.5 million bales. The growth rate in the manufacturing sector has

gone up to 8 percent. Despite world recession and decline in the prices of cotton in the world market, exports are likely to increase by 13 to 14 percent this year. A remarkable feature of import is that of import of machinery which increased by 70 percent as compared to last year. In response to economic reforms, private investment has increased by 25 percent, the prices of shares have gone up by 80 percent. This is a positive indication for the future of the economy.

Along with these positive trends, there are also some areas in which the progress has not been as expected. Though the rate of inflation this year is relatively lower than last year, it is higher than the target. The Consumer Price Index [CPI] has increased by 6.2 percent in March 1992 over June 1991 as against 9.2 percent in corresponding period last year. In the current year, the rate of inflation is estimated between 9.5 percent to 10 percent which is lower than last year's level of 12.7 percent but higher than 8 percent targeted for the year. The basic cause for price increase is borrowing and budget deficit unless these are not reduced the problem of inflation will not be resolved fully.

An important step of our reforms is the liberalization of exchange system on account of which resident Pakistanis have been provided the facility of possessing, bringing in and taking out the foreign exchange from the country. Thousands of new accounts have been opened which have enabled the inflow of one billion dollars into Pakistan.

In the formation of the budget and economic policies for next year we have kept these facts in view. Economic and social targets fixed for the next year are:

- accelerate the pace of economic development and achieve a growth rate of at least 6.2 percent in GDP.
- increase production of agriculture and manufacturing sectors by 5 percent and 8.5 percent respectively.
- create an environment for ensuring greater investment and savings and encouraging the private sector to play a more significant role in economic and social development
- increase total investment by 15 percent and private investment by 20 percent. For this purpose incentives will be provided for domestic and foreign investment.
- increase export by 15 percent so as to reduce the balance of payments deficit.
- expand availability of electricity, gas, water, roads and tele-communications so as to ensure that their shortage does not become a bottleneck for investment and development.
- substantially improve facilities for education, health, nutrition, potable water, population welfare and other social amenities. A comprehensive Social Action Programme has been prepared which will be launched next year.
- create additional employment opportunities and ensure fuller implementation of Prime Minister's Self Employment Programme.
- reform the taxation system to create balance in the budget, reduce debt burden and bring down the budget deficit to less than 5 percent of GDP i.e. Rupees 65 billion and consequently the rate of inflation is brought down.
- in order to benefit fully from the economic reforms, formulate such policies which will create internal and external stability and balance, contain inflation and accelerate the development process.

The motivating force in these priorities is the Manifesto in which we have promised to the people to raise their standard of living and provide better facilities of food, shelter, education, health, employment, transport and communications and social welfare. We are determined to make Pakistan an Islamic Welfare State. We abide by our commitments and Inshallah [God willing] we shall move towards achieving these ends with speed.

Now I will briefly refer to those programmes and steps which are being undertaken in various fields to achieve these objectives.

Agriculture is the mainstay of Pakistan's economy and one cannot think of the well-being of the people without increasing the agricultural production. Agricultural production and equitable return to the farmer occupy an important position in our planning. We have announced a new agricultural policy and launched the Productivity Enhancement Programme [PEP] for which one billion rupees have been allocated in the budget this year. The Prime Minister in December last announced a number of incentives for the promotion of agriculture and welfare of the farmer. Under this programme, technology, quality seed, gypsum, fertilizers, irrigation and other inputs will be provided. It also contained a relief package for outstanding agricultural loans. The Prime Minister has recently formed a Cabinet Committee which will suggest additional measures in consultation with the provinces. Additional funds have been provided in the budget for this purpose so as to bring a happy change in the lives of the farmers.

Irrigation is an important aspect of agriculture. Irrigation programmes are being implemented which will increase the availability of water and reduce wastage. In the next year Rupees 7.5 billion have been provided for the water sector which will be spent on extending irrigation facilities, better use of water and control of salinity and water logging. It is expected that in their development programmes the provincial governments will also provide additional funds for irrigation projects.

The rural development programme is also being stepped up, along with agriculture, facilities of roads, electricity, education, health, potable water and sanitation are being improved. Tameer-e-Watan Programme is being implemented in association with the elected representatives.

Under this programme till 30th April this year, 16,317 schemes have been approved on which Rupees 2,500 million will be spent. In the next year Rupees 3,250 million has been provided for this programme.

The current policies are more conducive to industrial development but without the availability of basic physical infrastructure like roads, power, water, gas and telephone, the investment will not flow in. We are establishing industrial zones in various parts of the country which will have all the basic facilities like power, water, gas and telecommunications. Land can be provided to the private sector if it is willing to invest in providing these facilities. As far as possible, the management of the zones will be in the hands of the private sector. The distribution of the basic facilities will be the responsibility of the zone authorities.

The Special Industrial Zones will enjoy these concessions:—

- five year tax holiday for industries which are established during the period announced by the Government.
- exemption of customs duty and import surcharge on imported machinery not manufactured in the country.
- reduced rate of import license fee of 2 percent.
- foreign investors to bring their own foreign exchange. Domestic financial institutions can provide rupee loans in accordance with their own rules and regulations.
- no restriction on borrowings and their repayment and on the payment of royalty and technical fee.

The concessions of Special Industrial Zones, are subject to these conditions:

- at least 60 percent of the production is exported.
- at least 40 percent foreign investment.
- to facilitate investors, there will be a short "negative list" to be issued separately. Except for this list, other industries can be set up in the zone.

Government has established a high powered Investment Promotion Board which will take over the responsibility of the Special Industrial Zone Scheme and facilitate and encourage investment. The terms of reference of the Board and other details will be announced shortly.

An important objective of our industrial policy is to enhance productivity so that the human and natural resources are put to efficient use and the competitive position of Pakistani products in the world market is established. The focus of the policies is therefore on

value added products. Some immediate decisions made in this respect are:—

- i) In order to promote automotive industry, the vendors will be allowed to use the duty free imported raw material for in-house use and for commercial sale.
- ii) The deletion policy is being rationalized in a positive manner so that instead of punishing the defaulter, the units attaining the targets should be rewarded. This will improve efficiency and encourage deletion. Instead of having separate deletion programmes for each unit of an industry, there will be a deletion time schedule of specified components and parts for each industry.

Tariffs are being rationalized for improving efficiency and gradually reducing unnecessary protection. This will improve our competitive position in world market and increase exports. In this connection, some steps will be announced later.

The Government is preparing a comprehensive programme for the training of industrial workers. In addition to public institutions, the private sector will be encouraged to set up such institutions. An allocation of Rupees 250 million has been made for this purpose in the next year budget. Industrialists are also being made responsible for establishing institutions for the education of the workers and their children. Its details will be presented later.

It is essential that for the promotion of investment and trade, the financial system is made more effective so that it can provide a bridge between savings and profitable investments. The Government had introduced far-reaching reforms last year. The rate of return on savings and investment was brought under the market mechanism which encourages the banking system and stock exchange to play their full role.

a) At present, there is only one open mutual fund successfully being operated in Pakistan by N.I.T.[expansion not given]. It has now been decided that the private sector should also be allowed to operate open mutual funds. For this purpose, the Corporate Law Authority will frame necessary rules/guidelines and give permission in appropriate cases.

b) Private investors are showing interest in closed-end mutual funds in which at present not more than Rupees 50 million can be invested. This limit was fixed in 1984. It has now been decided to do away with this limit. Restrictions on new issues of shares are being gradually removed. The procedure for the issue of shares at higher than the par value is being simplified. This will be equally applicable to all shareholders after lifting the restriction on the issue of shares on premium. To protect the small investors, the system of scrutiny of the accounts of the companies is being made more effective.

c) Unlike developed countries, voluntary employees stock option schemes are nonexistent in Pakistan. Efforts had been made to apply such a scheme in the case of the privatization of the Allied Bank which proved successful. It has now been decided to allow Employee Stock Option Schemes in the listed public companies.

For this purpose, the listed companies will be allowed to set up a Trust to operate the fund. It will be a voluntary scheme and employees will volunteer to subscribe to the fund. The company can also give donations to the Trust and sell some of its shares to the Trust. The profit of the Trust would be distributed among the members. At the time of retirement or leaving the jobs, the members will be able to cash their investment at market rates.

Some changes have been taken in the financial sector last year. In addition to private banks, housing finance companies, Modarba and leasing companies have been established and there has been an unprecedented growth in the share market. It has now become necessary that the supervision of these institutions is improved to protect the interest of small investors and account holders. This work has been assigned to the State Bank of Pakistan and Company Law Authority. The Company Ordinance 1984 is being amended.

During the past years, progress has been made in the establishment of Islamic Economic System and most of the business of banks and financial institutions is being run in accordance with the Islamic principles. Under the Shariat Bill, a Commission has been established which will recommend measures for further Islamisation of the economy. Pakistan is an Islamic State and it is our duty to strive for making this country a truly Islamic Welfare State. It is hoped that the recommendations of the Commission will prove extremely useful.

In the past, due attention was not paid to the development of physical infrastructure like electricity, communications and roads which is now emerging as a bottleneck in economic development. To make up for this deficiency, more funds are being provided in the Public Sector Development Programme and the private sector is also being induced for fuller participation in the development of these areas.

The demand for electricity is increasing by 10 percent annually but generation capacity is lagging behind which causes loadshedding. In the Public Sector, power generation of 2,711 MW is under implementation and the total capacity is expected to reach 11,600 MW next year. In the private sector a power project is to be constructed at Hub and some other projects are also under consideration. In the current year, 2,500 villages were provided with electricity and another 2,700 villages will be electrified next year. Work is progressing on the Tarbela-Lahore-Jamshoro and Guddu-Sibi-Quetta transmission lines. In the current year, 7,600,000 new electricity connections were provided and another 8,000,000 are planned in the next year.

In the area of gas, 240,000 new connections will be provided next year. In addition to development of existing oil and gas fields, digging of another 75 wells will be undertaken.

In order to enhance the communications system, a network of roads is being developed in the country which will not only open new avenues of progress in the

country but will also promote trade with Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asian Countries. For this purpose, work on the construction of Lahore-Islamabad and Islamabad-Peshawar motorway has been started. In the next phase, Karachi will be connected via Multan and Sukkur and another road will link Gawadar via Larkana. Within two years, the present 1,700 km National Highway No. 5 will be made four lanes. Indus Highway is a very important project in the Government sector which will link Karachi with Peshawar through Larkana and Dera Ghazi Khan. The road is 400 km shorter than No. 5. Roads in Balochistan are also being improved and expanded so that the ECO Highway between Karachi and Iranian border is brought to international standards.

The telecommunication network is being further expanded and next year 750,000 new telephone connections and 2,000 public call offices will be provided, while another 150 towns and cities will be netted in the direct dialing system. Side by side, the modern system of optical fibre will be completed and new telephones will be on digital system.

Work on Gwadar Fish Harbour, Port Qasim, and Jinnah Bridge is continuing. An oil jetty is being constructed in the private sector at Karachi. Work on river transport system is progressing. In order to improve the postal system, the postal department will be made effective and autonomous so that it can provide modern facilities.

Work is in progress on Nowshera Locomotive Factory. Recommissioning of 23 diesel engines and 70 miles of rail track renewal is also underway.

The modern Jinnah Terminal at Karachi Airport will be commissioned next year. Similar terminals will be built in Lahore and Islamabad. PIA [expansion not given] is acquiring two more air buses.

The economic development as a whole is satisfactory but progress in social sector is lagging behind. In our past plans, we had placed more emphasis on economic growth while literacy, health, nutrition, sanitation, potable water and other social amenities had not received due priority. Funds allocated for social sector were low and implementation was constrained. Rapidly growing population also overcrowded the available services.

This imbalanced situation has created human, social and regional problems in the society. If these imbalances are not addressed, not only social inequality would persist, it will also slow down the pace of economic progress. A literate and healthy person serves not only his own interests but is also useful for the nation. With a fast increasing population the task of providing adequate employment and social amenities will become extremely difficult. This issue should also be addressed seriously.

A comprehensive Social Action Programme has been designed to raise the standard of living of the people and to meet their social needs. This three year programme

includes primary education, nutrition, health, population welfare, rural water supply and sanitation. It is intended to improve the coverage, quality and effectiveness of these services. In the next three years, Rupees 53,050 million will be spent on this Programme. In the current year we will spend Rupees 6,820 million and for the next year Rupees 14,810 million have been provided which will be double of the current year. In the next year, Rupees 6,510 million have been provided for education, Rupees 8,200 for health and Rupees 3,250 million for drinking water. Through this Programme our development and nondevelopment expenditure which in the current year was 2.3 percent of GDP may be increased to 3.3 percent in 3 years time. This will be a significant step in alleviating our backwardness. Every province has its own plan and targets. It will be implemented with the cooperation of the private sector. Its main elements are primary education, particularly the education of girls; and health in particular preventive will be augmented. Basic Health Units in the rural areas will be equipped with better facilities and in cities mohalla health centers will be established. Population welfare facilities will be increased and safe drinking water and sanitation will be improved.

Women are a substantial part of our population. The Government gives high priority to their uplift and welfare. In the Social Action Programme, large funds are being provided for education, health and population welfare because education and health of women play an important role in the social development of the country.

The success of this programme will depend not only on allocation of more funds but also on evolving effective implementation machinery. An administrative set-up is being evolved in which local Government, private institutions and NGOs [Non Government Organization] will also participate. Funds will be provided on matching grant basis. It is expected that international financial institutions will provide full cooperation for this programme.

The Government has outlined a National Conservation Strategy. This strategy for addressing environmental problems, emphasizes the areas of soil erosion and flooding, salinity and waterlogging, air, water and marine pollution, and sewage and drainage in urban areas. Further work is going on to translate the strategy into specific projects. We also wish to prepare the country for the 21st century through a major push in science and technology that are the requirements of sustainable development. According to opinion of experts, the various technologies that we are using, only one percent of it will remain relevant by the year 2025 and the rest may become meaningless. One can well imagine that if we do not progress in this field with speed in what pathetic condition we would be.

Some other steps have also been taken by the Government for the welfare of the poor. As announced in the last Budget, the 'Baitul Maal' has been established. Thousands of the destitutes and needy have benefited

from this institution. We plan to make it more effective for next year. The Government is concerned about the problems and difficulties of the poor. The Prime Minister has given special instruction that the poor should get his daily necessities at cheaper rates. Though in the present difficult financial situation expenditure on subsidy cannot be increased substantially. The Government has decided to give concession of 1 rupee k.g. on supply of wheat flour to the poor, needy and Mustaheqeen from the Baitul Maal. For this purpose, a comprehensive Food Stamp Scheme is being introduced which will be implemented with effect from 14th August, 1992 from the Baitul Maal. Zakat and Ushr systems are also being reviewed with a view to making them more effective.

Unemployment is a major problem. With economic and social progress, additional job opportunities are being created. Under the Prime Minister's programme of employment, loans are being provided to the needy so that they can start profitable business. The Public Transport Scheme is also providing additional employment.

The major problem faced by our youth is unemployment. The purpose of the scheme is to help in resolving the issue. This year's private investments have increased by 25 percent and hundreds of new factories have been set up. According to experts, the additional investment will generate 800,000 new employment opportunities this year and the next year's investment will provide 900,000 additional jobs.

An amount of Rupees 50 million has been provided for programmes for minorities

In his address of fifth May, the Prime Minister has laid before the nation the seriousness of the fiscal position. As the august House is aware, according to the Budget estimate, this year our budget deficit should have been slightly less than Rupees 60 billion. It may however, reach Rupees 79 billion which will be met through borrowings. Every country borrows for development purposes and repays it through increasing production. But to borrow to meet nondevelopment expenditure is not wise. It is our top priority that budget deficit should be reduced so that in the next one or two years we need not borrow for meeting nondevelopment expenditure which should be met from our own resources. However, the difficulty is that two major heads of expenditure, i.e. defence and debt servicing are equal to our tax and nontax revenues and nothing is left for other expenditure of government. The remaining 6 percent (Rupees 10 billion) is not sufficient to meet public expenditure and special grant. It is therefore essential that nondevelopment expenditure must be reduced.

For this purpose, an economy commission was established in July, 1991. The preliminary recommendations of this commission have been received and in principle approved by the Federal Ministers will be reduced and subordinate and attached departments will either be abolished or reduced. In this process, no one will be removed from service and the surplus staff will be put in

a "Pool." It is expected that with these measures the nondevelopment expenditure will be reduced substantially.

Our system of government is Federal in which Federation, provinces and local bodies have their defined roles and sources of income. For national development and welfare, all the three tiers need to accelerate the process of resource generation. The Federal Government has taken a lead in this behalf and we expect that similar initiatives will also be undertaken by the provinces and local bodies in order to increase their resources and reduce dependence on the Federation and foreign assistance.

In my budget speech last year, I had stated that due to the National Finance Commission Award, the revenues of the provinces will increase which they could spend on their development programmes. I am happy to note that during the current year, the provinces, in addition to Rupees 17.2 billion provided by the Federal Government have spent additional Rupees 7 billion from their own resources. In the last budget, I had also announced that if the provinces mobilise additional resources for development, the Federal Government would provide matching grants. Some provinces have responded positively and obtained additional resources. This scheme will be continued next year also. I hope the provinces will make use of it.

It will now present the position of the budget and estimates for the next year.

The budgetary position of the next year is that total revenue receipts will increase from Rupees 223 billion to Rupees 243 billion. After transfer of provincial share, the Federal revenues will increase from Rupees 165 billion to Rupees 179 billion. Nondevelopment expenditure will increase from Rupees 199 billion to Rupees 219 billion. In this increase of Rupees 20 billion, an amount of Rupees 13 billion is on account of debt servicing. In the expenditure of Rupees 219 billion an amount of Rupees 21 billion is for repayment of external debt. After deducting this amount, the deficit on revenue account will be Rupees 18 billion. The budgetary financial development expenditure is estimated at Rupees 71 billion. Thus to meet the development and nondevelopment expenditure an amount of Rupees 89 billion will be required. For the economic stability, it is necessary that in the next year, the overall budget deficit should not exceed Rupees 65 billion i.e. within 5 percent of GDP. For this purpose, we have decided to reduce expenditure by Rupees 4.5 billion and mobilise resources of Rupees 19.5 billion. Now I place before this august House, the measures that are required to generate these resources.

'Capital File'

92AS0995C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
17 May 92 p 2

[Article by Mohammad Yasin: "The Budget Bite: Will Defence Be Ever Scrutinised?: 'No Farm Tax' Unites Politicians on All Sides of the Fence"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Except for the privileged few and the members of the ruling coterie, the entire nation is reeling under the impact of the harsh budget even though it is to take effect from the new fiscal year. And the budget has been presented by the government of the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] which before getting elected had made tall claims about its capability to change the life of the masses and putting an end to wasteful expenditure. It has definitely changed the lives of the masses, though for the worse. Inflation has leap-frogged and so has the wasteful expenditure.

And the worst of all, the IJI government is still obsessed with the falsehoods nurtured by dictator Zia. The Sindh situation is beyond redemption—all because of the persistence with which the present government is hounding its political foes. Balochistan is also afire since Balochs and Pashtuns who had been living peacefully for ages, are now divided amongst themselves.

The seeds of discord amongst various classes of people are aggravating. The new budget has widened the gulf between the haves and have-nots. While the rulers themselves speak of the bleak economic situation, they shy away from the idea of imposing farm tax because it is not in their interest. Even the economic crunch cannot force them to go for taxing the feudal landlords. And they find on this kindred souls on the opposite side of the fence. No farm tax unites all the feudals whether in the ruling party or on the other side. The cabinet at its last meeting considered the question and rejected it out of hand.

And nobody dares question the mounting defence budget. All parties want to curry favour with the armed forces. Even the most progressive political party with a base in the masses does not think it politically convenient to suggest a cut in defence spending. They would not even question whether the money allocated for defence is being properly spent.

This emboldens retired generals to seek a role for the armed forces in the political scheme of things. A retired general is not necessarily a fountainhead of wisdom because he had been in the armed forces. And worst of all there are some politicians who are for army intervention after becoming frustrated in their game.

Why weren't the names of those politicians who got hefty loans during the previous governments written off divulged by the Finance Minister in his budget speech? The principle of accountability of which the President and the Prime Minister talk a lot appears to be relevant to the extent it suits them. The politicians with huge farms whose loans were waived under the doctrine of necessity, are a source of political power for the rulers. When the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] was in power, it too abided by the code of honour for the privileged people and avoided making public the names of politicians whose loans were waived. Who says there is no consensus among the feudal politicians?

All this shows that the ruling party is divorced from the masses who gave it the mandate to rule. It has lost the

capability to feel the pulse of the public. Or as the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] says, the IJI's mandate was a rigged one. Had the IJI government really felt the pulse of the public, it would, in no case have taken measures which it had taken over the last 15 months. Or maybe it is because the government has come to rely heavily on the intelligence agencies' reports that it accept them on face value and thus feels that it is entrenched firmly in power and can do anything without being challenged.

The sense of complacency makes the ruling party impervious to the criticism being made by the press. And thus the press which reflects the opinion of the segments of the public becomes in the eyes of the rulers something of a misguided critic which must be dealt with by the government. The problem in Pakistan is that the Press is viewed favourably as long as a political party is in the opposition. No sooner a political party assumes the role of a ruling party it comes to view the press as a foe that better be kept at a distance.

When Nawaz Sharif was leading the opposition against the Federal Government of Benazir Bhutto, his press advisers and other officials in the Punjab spread all kinds of rumours against the Federal Government. It was then right for the then opposition to indulge in rumour-mongering. Now the Prime Minister accuses the press of indulging in speculations and the need for a law to curb it. The government and the political parties must first of all pledge never to indulge in disinformation and misinformation. It will set things right.

'Unrealistic, Burdensome'

92AS0995D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
17 May 92 p 4

[Article: "Budget Termed Unrealistic, Burdensome"]

[Text] Multan, May 16: All Pakistan government employees confederation and provincial government departments employees federation have termed the budget as unrealistic, burdensome, and ill-conceived which would add to the miseries of the salaried classes.

In a press statement Maqbool Qureshi, Nasrullah Khan and APCA's [expansion not given] secretary general, Muhammad Ishaq Saqi rebutted the claim of Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif that it was poor man's budget aimed at Islamic welfare state. They said that the government had promised to increase the salaries and fringe benefits by 20 to 30 percent for all employees from grade one to 17 but nothing was announced in the budget, neglecting 22 lakh employees who play a key role in the country's development. They said that the government had disappointed the employees by not raising their salaries when flour had reached Rupees 200 per maund, vegetable ghee a Rupees 24 to 26 per kilogram, sugar Rupees 12, and red chillies Rupees 40 to 45 per kg.

A meeting of Pakistan People's Party Multan division chaired by Altaf Khokhar has termed the budget as

disappointing and anti-people which had broken the back of the downtrodden people. However, maximum concessions and exemptions have been granted to the rich and privileged classes. It also termed the budget speech "as a prelude to the real budget and believed that the worst is yet to come in the form of mini-budget in the coming days. It said that juggling with figures will lead to even greater inflation and the reason behind fake figures was the government's ostrich like approach of not accepting the fact that their projections about fiscal year 91-92 had failed miserably. It demanded withdrawal of increase in telephone rates, passport fee, duty on finished cloth, and surcharge on electricity. Khidmat-i-Insaniyat party chief Muhammad Salim Leghari has said that rate of bribery in government and semi-government departments would be increased with the arrival of budget for 1992-93. He said that nothing was done for jobless persons, and government employees. Nondevelopment and defence expenditures have also not been reached.

Strike threat of the National organisation of postal employees (NOPE) has warned the government that all workers would go on strike for an indefinite period from May 24 throughout the country if the government attempted to declare Pakistan postal department as a corporation taking the union into confidence and meeting their outstanding demands.

Presiding over a meeting of NOPE its secretary general Syed Tehzeeb-Ul-Hassan said that workers would not let any officer enter the office from May 24 if their demands were not met before that date. Hunger strike would be observed in front of National Assembly and provincial assemblies of Punjab, Sindh and NWFP [North-West Frontier Province]. He alleged the government wanted to give post offices on contract under a well-planned conspiracy. He condemned the imposition of privatisation policy on the government employees. NOPE leader demanded that mail delivery and booking system allotted to private sector in Karachi and Lahore be withdrawn forthwith. He said that people's mail and "amanats" were not being delivered to particular persons at their door steps in the cities and they have to get their mail from the neighbouring utility stores, shops, etc.

Syed Tehzeeb-Ul-Hassan said that government should hold dialogue with the representatives of the union before the "D" day. Otherwise, they would be forced to jam the work of post offices.

Large Defense Share

92AS0995E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 May 92 p 6

[Article: "Not the Budget of a Free Country"]

[Text] Air Marshal Asghar Khan has punctured the balloon of silence poised over the defence expenditure in the country. He characterised the defence budget as the budget of a conquered country. It has no relationship to

our foreign policy which is in any case "dictated by a foreign power." He emphasised the need for accountability and public debate on the subject.

One does not have to be a soothsayer to forecast that no one in the National Assembly will consider it prudent to question either the advisability or the purpose of any provision in the defence budget. The members of the National Assembly have voluntarily made themselves partners in this conspiracy of silence. The unstated political assumption, to which every politician subscribes, is that the survival of the democratic system in the country depends entirely on the goodwill of the armed forces. That being the case, who would be rash enough to question either the present structure of the defence forces or the large share of the national budget which goes toward the maintenance of a huge standing army? Who except that odd-man-out Air Marshall Asghar Khan? But he has never been known as a particularly skillful practitioner of the Pakistani brand of politics.

A large section of the press is already busy propagating the fiction, encouraged by the Finance Minister, that the defence budget has been reduced in real terms. Let us look at the figures. The defence budget for 1991-92 stood at Rupees 70.95 billion; the budgeted amount for 1992-93 is Rupees 82.15 billion marking an increase of 15.77 percent. After allowing 10 percent for inflation, there is a net increase of 5.77 percent in the defence budget. A large part of this represents rupee expenditure required for the maintenance of the armed forces. At least 25 percent goes toward salaries and 10 percent for payment of pensions which adds up to a staggering figure of Rupees 28.75 billion. Compared with that the total provision for Education is a mere Rupees 3.11 billion and for Health a ridiculous amount of Rupees 0.953 billion. Could one impose a more distorted and absurd set of priorities on the budget of a free democratic country? The Air Marshall is not far wrong when he suggests that this is the budget of a conquered country.

Asghar Khan has raised another extremely important point about the structure of the Pakistan army. There is no longer any threat to our western borders and the whole defence strategy needs to be reviewed. If there is one lesson that defence strategists and planners have learnt from the Gulf war, it is that the advances made in the field of missile technology have rendered the concept of a large standing army obsolete. The whole doctrine of ground warfare has become irrelevant. In any major war now, the issue will be decided not by forces on the ground but by missiles and air power. The only role for a standing army in the future will be that of an occupation force, for which countries will need a much smaller number of men on the ground. In the developing countries, wedded to outmoded doctrines of war, large standing armies will continue to be maintained for ceremonial purposes and parades to boost the morale of the people.

Given these realities, the National Assembly, if it wishes to play any meaningful role in the affairs of the country, must insist on a complete disclosure of the defence budget and a detailed and open debate on the subject. It is welcome news that the Prime Minister is thinking of setting up a Commission to examine the question of self-reliance in defence. The Commission should undertake a detailed review of our defence strategy and the present structure of our defence forces. The membership of the Commission must not be limited to Service Chiefs. It must have civilian specialists and defence scientists among its members. The audited accounts of all defence expenditure must also be made public so that the people come to know how their hard earned income is being spent.

Any suggestion that the disclosure of the defence budget will alert the "enemy" is sheer nonsense. The "enemy" knows about every piece of equipment that we possess and has full knowledge of our training programmes and exercises. One has only to go to any American or European institute of strategic studies to discover how much the foreigners know about our defence capability and potential. It is only the people of Pakistan who remain in the dark about their own defence.

Government Approach to Bill Termed 'Pathetic'

92AS0991A Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 92 p 16

[Article by Anis Mirza: "Privileges Bill-Mockery of Legislation"]

[Text] The scene in the National Assembly on Thursday pertaining to the privileges and salaries bill, was tantamount to a political circus. It exposed the greed of both the two-year government of industrial tycoon Nawaz Sharif and the so-called populist Opposition led by Benazir Bhutto. The sudden withdrawal of the controversial Privileges Bill highlighted the fact that Nawaz Sharif's parliamentarians were not even aware of the angry mood of the public, outside the facade of parliament. The Peoples Democratic Alliance (PDA) which has been charging the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] of having rigged a general election took an elitist stance. They supported perks and privileges in the bill in a climate of hardship for the poor and the jobless.

At midday, as the bill was withdrawn through a resolution, an angry Zahid Sarfraz (Muslim League) preached sharply later in the lobby: "There is no difference between the government members and Mirasis (minstrels). They have behaved like a bunch of amateurs. They brought a bill of privileges and salaries and after passing it, withdrew it. This government will do the same with the national budget.

The Assembly session was behind schedule by almost 90 minutes. In one committee room, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, who has not even appeared in the House since the commencement of the session, was trying to convince the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad members, that they should not demand duty-free cars and increase in salaries.

Reports circulating in the lobbies suggested that there was a heated two-hour debate in the 60-member IJI Parliamentary Party meeting, presided by Nawaz Sharif. A majority of the IJI members (Non-Ministers) were not in favour of withdrawing the bill supporting Minister Chaudhry Abdul Ghafoor. In his reply he said the perks of other dignitaries did not come within the purview of the bill. Speaker Gohar Ayub tried to bring order in the House when members from both sides rose in a noisy chorus. The government party wanted to withdraw the privileges bill and the Opposition wanted to bring an amendment to their resolution. Finally, the Speaker put the issue to a voice vote and the Opposition an increase in their salaries. However, the Prime Minister is believed to have managed to prevail upon his party colleagues. Besides the Privileges Bill, the IJI Parliamentary Party also discussed the breakaway of the Jamaat-i-Islami and the Jamaat's role in the Afghanistan situation.

The People's Democratic Alliance which also held a parliamentary party meeting on the controversial Privileges Bill decided to bring an amendment in the resolution moved by Law Minister Chaudhary Abdul Ghafoor.

When the members finally got down to business, Law Minister Chaudhary Abdul Ghafoor rose to move a resolution for withdrawing the privileges and salaries bill. He said in view of the difficult economic situation in the country, the IJI Government was constrained to wrap up the bill. Meanwhile, People's Party member Syed Iftikhar Gilani rose to move an amendment to the IJI resolution. Gilani who had been supporting the Privileges Bill demanding diplomatic passports, free telephones and a VIP treatment, insisted on moving and amendment. At this point Leader of the Opposition Benazir Bhutto moved out of the hall. She was scheduled to address a public meeting in Chakwal.

Iftikhar Gilani proposed that all privileges from the President down to a Section Officer be withdrawn, particularly those relating to the import of duty-free cars, and this said Gilani in a loud voice: "We will accept this resolution of withdrawal of the bill, if the privileges of everybody are also curtailed. Why should Governors or the bureaucracy have these perks? There are no holy cows. Why should the President and others have perks and privileges?"

There was a crescendo of arguments and counter arguments. Law lost. However, the decision to withdraw the salaries and privileges enactment was carried unanimously. In reality it was an exercise in futility.

Some interesting facts did surface during the discussion when the Speaker put the issue to vote. For the first time, the Jamaat-i-Islami members voted with the Opposition and not with the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad Government. There were Muslim League dissidents like Zahid Sarfraz who did not support the Government Benches suggesting that he would prefer to abstain. Former Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi sat in his rear seat watching the

scenario. He did not indicate any response. He also appeared to have abstained."

Interestingly, the IJI Government's pathetic handling of the privileges issue, to some observers of the Assembly scene was an indication that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, busy with privatisation and the Afghanistan problem, was losing grip. He might have lost even rapport with the IJI's Muslim League members. There were reports circulating that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's men were busy monitoring the Assembly graph. The Muslim League members were reported to be trying to patch up the Junejo-Pagara rift and lure away Mr Junejo from the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad bond.

National Assembly Debates Farm Tax, Tax Evasion

92AS0993B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 May 92 p 1

[Article by Mohammad Saleh Zaafir: "Bill To Curb Tax Evasion Soon: Nawaz: Differences in IJI Over Farm Tax"] txt

[Text] Islamabad, May 17: Serious differences surfaced in the parliamentary party of the ruling Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) and its supporting groups in the National Assembly on Sunday, when anti-feudal lobby insisted that government should bring agriculture income under the tax net.

Most of the ministers, ministers of state and MNAs [Member of National Assembly] with an urban background including the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] supported the idea of imposition of farm tax. The meeting was held under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif, who is also president of the IJI parliamentary party.

The meeting was first time attended by Mir Bizen Khan Bizenjo, chief of the two-member parliamentary group of Pakistan National Party (PNP). The Prime Minister welcomed the PNP on joining the IJI parliamentary party.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, who was noncommittal on the issue of agriculture tax, did not support the move. According to sources, the government was of the view that agricultural tax would not help the government in a big way as the landed class was already paying heavy indirect taxes, but even the IJI parliamentary groups succumbed to the pressure to look into the entire matter once again in the next meeting to be held sometime next week.

A participant of the meeting disclosed that although the Prime Minister was not in favour of income tax on the farm produces, it is very difficult for him to express his opinion openly on the question in view of increasing pressure from its major partner, MQM.

According to sources, the federal cabinet was also not united on the question. It was pointed out by a member

belonging to the MQM that agriculture tax had created rift in the ranks of the cabinet.

Nawaz Sharif also asked for suggestion to curb the tax-evasion. He told the members of the parliament that the government would introduce a bill in the National Assembly to deal with the tax evaders with an iron hand. He said, according to this piece of legislation, the property of the tax evaders would be confiscated.

He said last year Pakistan imported machinery of 800 million dollars but this year the import of machinery has risen to the tune of 1.7 billion dollars. He warned that if the resources were not diverted from the privileged class to the needy and deprived people, it could result into a disastrous situation.

Tax Burden Claimed Heavy on Impoverished Class

92AS1000C Karachi AMN in Urdu 4 May 92 p 2

[Editorial: "Tax Burden"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced in an address to the IJI [Islam Jamhoori Ittehad] and its associate parties' members of Parliament that he would not burden the poor in the next budget. He admitted the fact that the country's economy was very delicate and that it was at a dangerous level. He also said that the government's income was being looted on a large scale. The prime minister also mentioned the problems arising from social imbalances. He compared it to a volcano and said that it was necessary that steps be taken to alleviate the problem of social injustice. He said that this difference can be reduced by distributing resources fairly among the rich and the poor. If distribution of wealth is made just, then it can result in consistency in the distribution of resources. He also assured that steps would be taken to stop the robbing of the government's treasury.

The prime minister's honest and realistic explanation to Parliament members of the IJI and its supporting parties is commendable. It shows that he has a good grasp of the problems of the poor in this country, and he knows well that our poor cannot bear the burden of any additional increase in prices. That is why he has decided to make sure that the poor are not further burdened with additional taxes in the next budget.

The prime minister's speech also indicates that he is aware of widespread theft in the government treasury, and that he is determined to stop it.

There is no doubt that the government treasury has been robbed on a large scale for a long time. However, none of the previous governments had tried effectively to stop it. The bureaucracy never let the half-hearted efforts in this direction succeed.

During General Zia's time, talented Finance Minister Mehabubul Haq admitted more than once that government employees ignore more than half of the country's problems. The bureaucracy received between 40 and 50 billion rupees in graft. This caused a deficit of between 200 billion to 2 trillion rupees every year. If this theft and graft is stopped, then the country will be able to stand on its own feet.

This above declaration by Dr. Mehabubul Haq was not incorrect. However, in spite of his skills in economic areas and his intelligence, he could not do anything to fight the looting of the treasury. His opponent proved to be more effective than he was. They succeeded in removing him from the finance ministry. Similarly, the new tax collection system that he established to stop the theft of tax revenue could not be implemented, due to opposition by the bureaucracy, traders, and industrialists.

The prime minister must be aware of this whole situation. He has been a famous industrialist in our country, and he must know all the strategies used to avoid payment of taxes, as well as ways to stop these thefts. He would also be aware of the reasons why the steps taken to stop the theft of tax revenue were ineffective in the past. All the taxes that the government levies on industrialists and businessmen are transferred to the people through increases in the prices of their products and goods. Therefore, simply announcing that the poor will not have to bear the burden of additional taxes is not enough. It is important that the industrialists and traders are stopped from transferring the burden of taxes to the people. Until this is done, the poor masses of this country will not benefit.

SOCIAL

Religious Leaders Demand Religious Identity Cards

92AS1000A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 3 May 92 p 3

[News Report: "A Box for Identifying Religion Be Added to Identity Cards"]

[Text] Lahore (JASARAT Correspondent)—Muslims and non-Muslims should be clearly identified on identification cards by adding a special space for religion. A separate position should be given to Qadianis and other non-Muslim minorities so that the Islamic character and identification are established. Declaring Qadianis as Kafirs on a historical basis would be possible only with the addition of a box for religion on ID cards and other important documents. This opinion was expressed in a joint press conference attended by IIma Sajid Mir, secretary general of Jumiati-ahl Hadis; Liaqat Baloch, member of the National Assembly and leader of Jamaat-i Islami of Lahore; Maulana Ajmal Qadri, state president of Jamiati-i-Ulema-i-Islam (JUI); IIma Shabit Ahmed and Mufti Abdul Qayum Hazari, members of Jamiati-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan; Maulana Zahidul Rashdi, member

of the JUI; Maulana Abdul Amalk, president of Jumiat-i Ittehad-i Ulema; Maulana Abdul Rauf, secretary general of the Muttehd Ulema Council; Ulama Zahir Ahmed and Sahabzada Amjed Khan, leaders of Jamaat-i Ahl-i Hadish; and several other Muslim scholars. They said that Pakistani ideology and the nation's constitution demand that identification cards must distinguish Muslims from non-Muslims. They further said that Qadiani groups have conspired to harm Muslims by staying in their society. These Qadianis are affecting our national policies with a "remote control." In addition, they said that a delegation of Muslim scholars and holy men have discussed these very complicated and serious situation with the president and the home minister. They have informed the government of the whole situation. They further said that the identification cards were being made on computers now. All that would be necessary would be the government's orders. The religious leaders said that they had warned the government in time. They are going to call a meeting for 5 May in Islamabad to discuss this issue. They said that if the government did not make a decision on this issue by then, the next step would be decided in that meeting, as a result of which, a protest campaign could be started throughout all of Pakistan.

Educational Standards Seen in Decline

92AS0983B Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 5 Apr 92 p 4

[Editorial: "Decline in Educational Standards: Firm Efforts Required"]

[Text] The Punjab Public Service Commission expressed serious concern over declining educational standards in its 1990 annual report. It has recommended that a university board be established to improve educational standards, because it is not possible to monitor the standards of education at various universities without such a board. The Commission also identified the problem of our educational system as not having any specific goals. It is important to streamline the educational system to produce the number of graduates necessary for employment in the government and private sector. There is no cooperation between the education department and the government agencies. The Commission said that all educational agencies in the country are practicing extremities, and that the number of people with mediocre abilities is on the rise.

The mention that the Punjab Public Service Commission has made of the country's declining educational standards has often been discussed by every watchful patriot in educational circles. They express concern over this situation. The Public Service Commission has blamed the lack of monitoring of teachers and education at the college and university levels for this decline in educational standards. It said that the universities continue to give various degrees in different subject areas without any long-range plans or clear goals. The educational situation that the Commission has described would worry any patriotic person. The reason that the Commission has given for this educational decline seems to be accurate and to the point. However, we would like to mention respectfully that these educational standards have not declined just because of a lack of proper planning or goals. The main reason that the Commission has pointed out should be fully explained. It is important to end it and to rectify this problem. The Commission's mention of the lack of monitoring of students and teachers will tell us that it would be a good idea to totally destroy the present educational atmosphere, examination system, and examination standards. We have the curse of copying everywhere in our examination system. There are regular groups established for copying and helping others to copy from them. These groups have the protection of student leaders and other organizations. This tendency for copying and cheating has totally destroyed the concept of the examinations and has adversely affected educational standards. This practice of copying and cheating has resulted in the candidates being proven to be of mediocre capabilities. The Commission has also mentioned the ignorance of current affairs, a lack of knowledge of present problems, and an inability to do analysis. The reason for these is also the defective examination system and the prevalence of copying and cheating.

We support the facts and results given by the Public Service Commission in its report. We are equally concerned about the problem of the serious decline in our country's educational standards. We appeal to the government to give full attention to the Commission's report and also to sincerely try to implement the Commission's recommendations to improve educational standards. Special attention must be given to monitoring teachers and students. With the help of educational experts, rules and laws must be implemented strictly to stop the prevalence of cheating in examinations, because the main reason for the problems in educational standards is widespread cheating.

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